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# RURAL SOCIOLOGY

Devoted to *Scientific Study* of Rural Life

VOLUME 4

JUNE, 1939

NUMBER 2

- The Present Status of Rural Sociology in the South* . . . Bonney Youngblood
- Migration, Marriage, and Divorce* . . . . . Dorothy Swaine Thomas
- Rural Youth Studies in the United States* . . . . . Robin M. Williams
- State Police in a Rural Area* . . . . . Marshall E. Jones
- The Sociology of Drought* . . . . . Allen D. Edwards
- The Altenteil: German Farmers' Old Age Security* . . . . . H. W. Spiegel
- Notes* . . . . . Dwight Sanderson, Carl C. Taylor
- Current Bulletins* . . . . . Edited by Charles P. Loomis
- Book Reviews* . . . . . Edited by Carle C. Zimmerman
- News Notes and Announcements* . . . . . Contributed

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# RURAL SOCIOLOGY

*Published Quarterly*

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# RURAL SOCIOLOGY



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# The Present Status of Rural Sociology in the South and Desirable Steps for Its More Adequate Development†

*Bonney Youngblood\**

## ABSTRACT

The people of the South are making a more intelligent effort to find answers to their social questions than have been possible heretofore. Both federal and state, including some nonagricultural, institutions are making important contributions to an understanding of these questions.

Steps to be taken include:

1. Helping the rural people in particular and the public generally to understand their social problems.
2. Southern institutions must lead the way to rural social progress in the region. Research is the most serious business of these institutions. For research to be the most effective instrument for rural progress it must not be made a side line to teaching or other functions. Teachers who undertake research must have sufficient relief from teaching loads to do it aggressively.
3. The research specialist must bring to his task a cultivated, scientific mind, a mastery of scientific method, and a social philosophy.
4. The rural sociologist must maintain something more than a speaking acquaintance, an effective working relationship, with the physical and biological sciences, must help organize the forces of Science, help develop a Science of Man in which man is the master of a favorable ecological balance.

As the subjects represented on this program indicate, sociological research, having either a direct or an indirect bearing upon rural life, is taking root not only in the agricultural institutions but also in some of the nonagricultural colleges and universities of the South. This is as it should be. The Purnell fund, a federal-grant fund under which most of the social science research is conducted at the state agricultural experiment stations, must be expended upon specific problems having a direct bearing upon agriculture and rural life. This means that other less restricted funds must be found for conducting broad studies bearing upon urban and national life. It goes without saying, however, that rural-life problems cannot be resolved independently of urban life, or

† Presented at the meeting of the Southern Sociological Society, Chattanooga, Tennessee, April 1, 1938.

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of the life of the nation as a whole. Let us hope, therefore, that both the agricultural and the nonagricultural institutions of research and education in the South may envision alike the basic sociological problems of the region and that these institutions may harmonize their forces in efforts to bring about the improvements sought.

The South, along with the rest of the nation, is perhaps more sociologically conscious now than ever before. Evidently the people are making a more intelligent effort to find answers to their social questions than was possible in the past. With the help of their state and federal governments, they are beginning to make headway in the conservation of their natural and human resources. They are making excellent progress in better land utilization and in saving their soils from depletion and erosion. The economic and social effects of erosion control and its prevention is the subject of nationwide study. There is, of course, a demand for better standards and planes of living, better balanced economy and life. There is also in evidence a desire on the part of the social leaders of the South to improve relations among the varied elements which compose the population, and to harmonize local and regional programs of social progress with similar programs in other regions and with the broad objectives of the nation as a whole.

In general, there appears to be a growing desire for an intelligent adjustment between the population and the human carrying capacity of the land, its varied resources and diversity of enterprise considered. In fact, current efforts designed to bring about economic and social progress may be viewed as a striving for human ecological balance, regionally and nationally. The nation seems to be trying to learn something about what combination of human, plant, and animal populations and what types of social organization, institutions, and enterprise would constitute the most desirable pattern within a given environment. From this point of view, many of the major activities of the South—for example, agricultural adjustment, diversification, soil conservation, farm security, social security, rehabilitation and relief efforts—might be defined as broad social movements designed to help conserve and properly utilize our natural and human resources and to assure stability, security, and progress for the nation as a whole.

Everything considered, the future of rural sociological research, not only in the South but throughout the nation, seems very promising. While its proponents have certain obstacles to overcome, they have certain advantages not enjoyed by the pioneers in agricultural research.



A disadvantage is the restriction in public opinion concerning the scope and operation of an agricultural experiment station. In the early days, the work of the stations was restricted chiefly to the improvement of soils, crops, livestock, and their protection from diseases and insect pests. The concept of an agricultural research agency, therefore, did not extend to the study of the more intimately human problems such as come within the scope of rural sociological research. Rural sociologists are fortunate, however, in not having to create the research agencies in which they function. This was the task of the pioneers. They established and developed these agencies, and these in turn, upon the basis of their practical scientific achievements, have won for themselves a high place in public esteem.

A disadvantage lies in the fact that rural sociology is an exacting, not an exact science. It is a much simpler matter to study the phenomena of nature as observed in environment, plants, and animals, than it is to study human behavior in groups varying in size from a family to a nation, wherein psychological phenomena, including both rational and emotional elements, must be considered. Someone has said that while some rural sociological phenomena may be measured quantitatively, many others, particularly the emotional, are not subject to mathematical analysis. If, however, the research specialists possess the scientific spirit and fortitude of the pioneers, they can look and see—observe things, count things, measure things, and weigh things independently of prevailing patterns of thought among the people—just as Aristotle did more than two thousand years ago.

Time, of course, is necessary in the evolvement of a people, including their national ideals. It took more than 250 years for our people to settle the question of national unity and of publicly-supported education and research as instruments of rural progress. Much as our agricultural institutions have achieved, they may still be regarded, in many respects, as in their formative stage. Only seventy-five years have elapsed since the establishment of the United States Department of Agriculture and the agricultural and mechanical colleges; only sixty-three years have elapsed since the establishment of the first state agricultural experiment station; and only fifty years since the approval of the Hatch Act further endowing an agricultural experiment station in each state and territory. Likewise, time, patience, and good work will be required to place rural sociological research in the position which it should occupy as one of the instruments of human progress.

Before enacting legislation providing for the establishment and support of agricultural institutions and agencies, legislative bodies were guided in large measure by what the farmers had to say about their problems. Pioneer farmers wanted agricultural instruction, information, statistics, and better plants and animals introduced from abroad. It seems that the farmers were only incidentally concerned about the ways and means employed in supplying the information and service which they needed. I think, therefore, that it is safe to assume that the agricultural institutions and agencies, state and federal, are themselves to be credited with the initiative in obtaining the general adoption of scientific research as the most effective means of solving the problems of agriculture and rural life.

The particular problems which the pioneers emphasized at a given time depended, in part, upon where the shoe pinched the hardest and, in part upon the stage of agricultural progress. The different scientific applications, therefore, came to the forefront of public support, in part, in the order of the relative importance which farmers attached to their immediate problems; in part, upon the relative maturity of the science itself; and, in part, in the order of the relative effectiveness of the agricultural institutions themselves in convincing public opinion of the efficacy of the sciences as instruments of rural progress. Generally speaking, prior to 1900, American farmers visualized their production problems more clearly than they did their economic and social problems. They were more concerned with the matter of reducing the physical burdens of farming and increasing yields without proportionate increases in production costs, than in what we now define as social progress. They were not, of course, unmindful of the importance of marketing, taxation, transportation, and monetary questions, but these subjects were not, until comparatively recent decades, recognized as appropriate subjects for agricultural research. Even today, many farmers will tell you that if you can show them the way to better incomes, they will show you how to live. Perhaps it is one of the functions of rural sociological research to dispel the fallacies of some rural attitudes, such as those listed in *The Future of the Great Plains*,<sup>1</sup> Chapter V, for example, that natural resources are inexhaustible, etc.

On the basis of farmer preference, therefore, the physical and biological problems of agriculture were the first to be subjected to scientific

<sup>1</sup> *The Future of the Great Plains*, Report of the Great Plains Committee, published as House Document No. 144 (Washington, December, 1936).

study. Within the past thirty years, agricultural economics has come into public favor as a field of agricultural research about in proportion as the public generally has come to recognize the increasing importance of rural economic problems and as the science itself has been developed as a reliable means of interpreting economic conditions. In fact, the farm economists themselves have had much to do with bringing about this recognition. Likewise, much of the initial spade work of securing recognition for rural sociological research will fall, in the main, to the rural sociologists themselves.

Despite the delimitations imposed upon the title of this paper, it seems inevitable that I must review briefly, at least, the history of rural sociology in the United States. The zero mile post from which modern progress in rural sociology is measured in this country is a report of the Commission on Rural Life made in 1909. In appointing this Commission, President Theodore Roosevelt said, in part: "The great rural interests are human interests, and good crops are of little value to the farmer unless they open the door to a good kind of life on the farm." Dean Liberty Hyde Bailey of Cornell University, an early advocate of rural life studies, was Chairman of the Commission.

That men with inquiring minds build the sciences, and not the sciences the men, is illustrated in the life of Dr. C. J. Galpin, the first to study rural life problems under a formal project of a state agricultural experiment station. Dr. Galpin began his studies of rural communities about 1910. He published Bulletin 234 of the Wisconsin Station, *Rural Social Centers in Wisconsin*, in January, 1914. He began a social survey of Walworth County, Wisconsin, in 1911. This study resulted in his now historic Wisconsin Station Bulletin 34, *The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community*, published in May, 1915. Previous to his coming to Wisconsin, he had made a study of an agricultural community in New York state independently of any educational institution. In 1919, Dr. Galpin accepted a position with the Federal Bureau of Agricultural Economics and organized the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life. Between that date and his retirement, Dr. Galpin made a number of significant studies of rural sociological problems of the South, particularly those dealing with rural population, standards of living, the rural church, tenancy, and related subjects.

Dr. Galpin, who retired in October, 1935, was succeeded by Dr. Carl C. Taylor, who pioneered in this field at the University of Missouri, the University of Texas, and the North Carolina State College. At the



present time, Dr. Taylor is head of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and is also acting as head of the Social Research Division of the Farm Security Administration, successor to the Resettlement Administration. In the bureau of Agricultural Economics, Dr. Taylor is conducting co-operative studies of tenancy, labor, and population mobility and composition in the South, as well as elsewhere. For the Farm Security Administration, he is conducting a number of social studies, some of which have been completed and reported upon. Of these, at least eight were made in the South and dealt with such questions as social status, farm tenure, social planning, rural rehabilitation, standards of living, rural population analysis, and social institutions and relationships.

In many respects remarkable developments in rural social science research have also taken place in some of the nonagricultural universities of the South, particularly those of North Carolina and Virginia. The work at the University of North Carolina is said to date back to 1914 when Dr. E. C. Branson organized the Department of Rural Social Economics. A review of Dr. Branson's life work makes it clear that he placed great emphasis upon research. This review states that "The main contribution of the Department of Rural Social Economics has been its research work. Because of the volume and quality of its research work, it is favorably known throughout the Nation and in foreign countries. For seventeen years it has been exploring North Carolina: Economic, Social, and Civic." The Review lists seventy-seven unpublished studies and fifty-five which had been published between the years 1913 and 1933. Dr. S. H. Hobbs, Jr., is now head of this Department. To this must be added the work of the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, established in 1924, headed by Dr. Howard W. Odum. It is, of course, beyond the scope of this paper to enumerate the many achievements of Southern leaders in sociological research like Dr. Odum and his associates, who are the authors of a number of important contributions to sociological thought; but as the author of *Southern Regions* alone, Dr. Odum has made an outstanding contribution to Southern sociological thought, both rural and urban.

Another pioneer in rural sociological research in the South, all of whose accomplishments cannot be mentioned here, is Dr. Wilson Gee. At the University of South Carolina, between 1919 and 1923, Dr. Gee was the author of a number of county economic and social surveys. In 1923, he was elected professor of rural economics and rural sociology at

the James Wilson School of Economics at the University of Virginia. In 1926, the University established a separate school known as the School of Rural Social Economics involving both agricultural economics and rural sociology, with Professor Gee as its head. That same year, the University also established a School of Sociology with Professor Floyd N. House as its head and an Institute for Research in the Social Sciences with Professor Gee as Director. Since 1926, the School of Rural Social Economics and the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences have issued a dozen volumes of news letters dealing with economic and social questions, a large number of economic and social surveys of counties and geographical supplements, a number of books, many bulletins and, of course, many professional papers dealing particularly with the economic and social problems of Virginia and the South. It appears, therefore, that the universities of North Carolina and Virginia are playing leading rôles in social science research, much of which has an important bearing upon the problems of agriculture and rural life in the South.

Between 1911 and 1920, there was little to report concerning developments in rural life studies at the land-grant colleges. In its "Report on the Agricultural Experiment Stations for 1919," the Office of Experiment Stations listed only two projects in rural sociology, one at the Wisconsin and one at the West Virginia Station. Evidently, the establishment of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life in 1919 stimulated a wave of interest in the states, for in 1921 the Office of Experiment Stations reported thirty active projects at the state experiment stations.

Since 1921, the increase in the number of state station projects has been very gradual. In 1924-25, the year preceding the Purnell Act, the office reported thirty-four rural sociological projects under way, compared with thirty in 1921, and in 1925-26, the first year of the Purnell fund, forty-four. In 1927, J. H. Kolb made a report to the Rural Section of the American Sociological Society for the Social Science Research Council indicating that sociological research was under way during 1926-27 at twenty-seven state agricultural experiment stations, five non-agricultural colleges or universities, two federal agencies, and two individuals. Kolb also reported a total of eighty-six projects under way. Evidently some of these were not experiment station projects.

In 1930, the office reported forty-six projects and in 1931, when the writer prepared a classified list of projects in agricultural economics and rural sociology, the total number of rural sociological projects reported

by state stations, federal agencies, and nonagricultural institutions was eighty-nine,<sup>2</sup> fifty-seven of which were state station projects. Of these, twenty-two were reported by Southern stations, not including the Missouri Station, which reported five projects in this field. Finally, in 1937, the office reported sixty-four active state station projects, sixty-two of which were supported by the Purnell fund.

It is realized, of course, that the mere number of projects under way at the state stations gives an inadequate picture of progress in this field. During the past ten to fifteen years, there has been a marked increase in the number of specialists well qualified for research in rural sociology. There are now one or more specialists in this field in each of the Southern experiment stations, except in those of Florida, Georgia, and Alabama. Without flattery, it may be added that those now occupying positions in rural sociological research from Virginia to Arizona constitute a group which compares favorably with similar groups in other parts of the country.

A still better perspective of present progress is gained when the rural social research of federal agencies is taken into consideration. The work headed by Dr. Carl C. Taylor has already been mentioned. In addition, let me call attention to the impetus given sociological research throughout the country by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and its successor, the Works Progress Administration. During the past four years, the social research of this agency has been led by able social scientists, such as Howard B. Myers, Dwight Sanderson, J. H. Kolb, and T. J. Woolfer. It has co-operated with educational institutions in rural sociological research in practically all of the states. When this work began, only twenty-one state stations were employing rural sociological research specialists of which five were Southern stations; whereas, in 1937, thirty-one state stations had one or more such specialists on their staffs. Dr. Woolfer tells me that as a result of this co-operation, more than a hundred research bulletins have been issued by the state stations and a number of monographs are being published by the WPA. Most of these monographs have a direct bearing on rural life in the South. While the number of printed bulletins, reports, and monographs dealing with rural social questions has increased substantially over the past five years, the number of mimeographed papers, of course, is much greater. Much

<sup>2</sup> Eighty-nine is undoubtedly an understatement of the number of research projects under way, particularly in the nonagricultural institutions, many of which failed to reply to the inquiry sent them.



of this mimeographed material is of permanent value and should be printed; otherwise it may be lost forever, because of the cheap paper used and the fact that mimeographed material has no permanent place in the libraries. In addition to the published material, the state stations have profited greatly from the large bodies of unpublished data, gathered largely at the expense of the federal agencies, which may be interpreted and issued in the years ahead.

While there is, of course, much yet to be accomplished in the definition of its problems, the development of methods and procedures, the interpretation of results, and the evolvement of a literature, rural sociological research is gaining a foothold as an agricultural science in the South as well as in other geographical divisions of the country. In fact, its record of achievement in recent years is one of which its sponsors may well be proud.

#### STEPS

Some of the steps to be taken leading to the further development of rural sociological research in the South have already been indicated in this paper. It will suffice, therefore, to summarize a few of them briefly, as follows:

*Step 1* is to help rural people, rural leaders, and the public generally to visualize their social problems more clearly. The basic problems of rural sociology should be set forth not as idealistic concepts but as stern realities of rural life affecting the stability, comfort, and progress not of rural people alone but of the entire nation. The Rural Sociological Society, formerly the Rural Section of the American Sociological Society, has a committee now engaged in defining the basic problems of rural life, as nearly as possible, in the order of their importance and urgency.

*Step 2* is one to be taken by the institutions of research and education whose responsibility it is to lead the way to rural progress. These institutions have the responsibility, for example, of obtaining funds and developing or employing talent to conduct research and help formulate the "plans and specifications" for the structure of rural life in the South. Perhaps Dr. Gee's "Research Barriers in the South" has helped turn the tide of talent in the social sciences towards the South, instead of away from it as Dr. Gee indicated. It is to be hoped, however, that new research will not be undertaken by an institution until it has adequate funds to support the projects involved. Worthwhile research must be aggressively and continuously pursued until the objectives set forth are

reached. This requirement can be met only when positions are secure, professional opportunities and rewards are attractive, and the research specialists are happy and contented in their work. It is time for reflection when any considerable number of specialists leave an institution for better opportunities elsewhere. Of course, a certain amount of shifting is unavoidable and, in many cases, mutually beneficial, but these changes increase the turnover in personnel and the overhead costs of research. An institution is most fortunate when the flow of talent is toward it, not away from it.

On the basis of insufficient funds, or the unavailability of talent, many experiment station directors have heretofore been justified in resisting the pressure from both within and without for new and additional lines of research. Perhaps the best results are obtained when the experiment stations of a compact region do not try to have every imaginable type of research talent represented on their staffs but, instead, adequately endow the research that they do undertake and co-ordinate their research programs with the programs of neighboring states, so that a given station may assume leadership in certain lines of research while the other stations assume leadership in other lines which they are best prepared to conduct and thus round out the program of the entire region. While retaining their individual freedom to study what they pleased, the Northeastern State stations, for example, have correlated their programs of research to great advantage and, I might add, this idea is growing among Southern stations. An example of co-ordinated effort in social science research is the study of the economic and social problems of the Southern Appalachian Highlands undertaken in 1929 and participated in by the highland experiment stations and a number of federal agencies.

*Step 3* has to do with the amount and distribution of effort requisite to successful research. When a project is assigned to a specialist, it is vitally important that the institution grant him, and that he insist on, the necessary release from other duties to follow up his research aggressively and continuously until the problem is solved. It hardly seems necessary to remark that research is perhaps the most serious business of educational institutions. It is the source of information for teaching, extension, social planning, and social adjustment. It is therefore a major, not an incidental, function of an educational institution. If, for example, a teacher is assigned a research project, his teaching load must

be reduced to the point where he has the consecutive time required for the success of his project.

*Step 4* can only be taken by the project leader himself. He must bring to his project a scientific mind, one capable of conducting the research at hand ably and effectually. He must bring a good general education as a background to his scientific work. To be proficient in his research, he must have command of the method of science as it must be adapted to suit the requirements of his particular problems. Methodology enables him to deal with the realities of rural life while his social philosophy enables him to visualize the ideal towards which society aims, but, perhaps, will never fully attain.

It is the duty, therefore, of both the individual who undertakes research and of the institution with which he is connected to make a success of it. In agricultural science, this means not only getting dependable results, but also getting them used. Pure science unapplied to human problems will not save society from decay. "Every science begins as philosophy and ends as art; it arises in hypothesis and flows into achievement. Philosophy . . . is the front trench in the siege of truth. Science is the captured territory; and behind it are those secure regions in which knowledge and art build our imperfect and marvelous world."<sup>8</sup>

*Step 5.* Finally, let me suggest that the rural sociologists develop and maintain something more than a speaking acquaintance with other fields of science than their own. The success of rural sociology is perhaps far more dependent upon the findings of the physical and biological sciences and upon the findings of the social sciences other than sociology than is generally recognized. Properly integrated, they all work toward the common end of human progress.

There are those among scientists of more than ordinary renown who feel that the world is becoming cluttered up with too many isolated and unrelated facts; men like Dr. Alexis Carrel, for example, are saying that, in the present state of human society, there is an urgent demand for syntheses of scientific knowledge to give balance and proportion to a lop-sided world. Such men believe that if all the forces of science were harmoniously focused upon mankind and its needs, the world might be made a more natural, a more comfortable, and a more livable place for all of us. In such a world, perhaps, rural and urban life would be correlated, a knowledge of production and of productive re-

<sup>8</sup> Will Durant, *The Story of Philosophy* (New York, 1927), p. 2.

quirements would be balanced with a knowledge of consumption and consumptive requirements. Above all else, perhaps, we would know more about the present and do more for the future of mankind.

The rural sociologists can by no means afford to neglect the findings of their more intimate associates, the economists, the cultural anthropologists, the psychologists, and the social philosophers. In addition, study cultural history and learn some of the steps by which mankind has risen from savagery to civilization. Build up a sound and adequate literature of rural life, and thus help the most remarkable civilization of history to stand the test of time.

# Migration, Marriage, and Divorce

Dorothy Swaine Thomas\*

## ABSTRACT

Taking marriage as an index of personal organization, and divorce as an index of disorganization to determine whether or not migrants themselves have less stable family relationships than nonmigrants as indicated by proportions married and divorced by sex and age, an analysis was made of data from the Swedish census of 1930. Against a control group of nonmigrants (persons living in the community of birth) migrants were classified as near and far migrants to rural areas, small towns, and large cities, and were further classified as to sex and age. Migrants were found to have higher proportions married than the corresponding control groups of nonmigrants, with the exception of migrants to rural areas from distant communities.

The theory of urbanization developed by Park and Burgess postulates personal disorganization as a concomitant of migration. Burgess states this point of view quite explicitly: "Disorganization as preliminary to reorganization of attitudes and conduct is almost invariably the lot of the newcomer to the city."<sup>1</sup> McKenzie, examining a wide selection of literature, concluded "that the mobility of modern life is intimately connected with many of our social problems, there is general consensus of opinion . . . [and] it is unquestionably true that the excessive population movements of modern times are fraught with many serious consequences."<sup>2</sup> Mowrer, taking divorce as an index of personal disorganization, related its frequency by Chicago areas to a measure of mobility.<sup>3</sup> Finally, Malzberg in his attempt to explain the high frequency of insanity among Negro migrants to New York state, as compared with native Negroes in the same state, attributed the differential not only to the lesser economic security of the migrants but also to the hazards of "a less stable family relationship."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> E. W. Burgess, "The Growth of the City," in R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, *The City* (Chicago, 1925), p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> R. D. McKenzie, *The Neighborhood* (Chicago, 1923), p. 157.

<sup>3</sup> E. R. Mowrer, "Family Disorganization and Mobility," *American Sociological Society Publications*, XXIII (1929), 134-45.

<sup>4</sup> B. Malzberg, "Migration and Mental Disease Among Negroes in New York State," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, XXI (1936), 109.



If marriage (the establishment and maintenance of family relationships) is accepted as an index of organization, and divorce (the breaking of family relationships) as an index of disorganization, there are obviously two aspects to the question of migrant responsibility for disorganization. (1) Does migration depress the marriage frequency by disturbing the age and sex composition<sup>5</sup> of areas of absorption and dispersion, and setting in motion counter movements of population, and enhance the tendency towards divorce by increasing the "number and intensity of stimulations"?<sup>6</sup> (2) Do migrants themselves have less stable family relationships, as indicated by proportions married and proportions divorced by sex and age?

The present paper attempts to throw some light on the second of these aspects of the problem through an analysis of data from the Swedish census of 1930. This census provides data on the birthplace of the population by civil status, sex, age, and residence in rural and urban areas. The birthplace classification is in terms of whether residence in 1930 was in the community of birth or outside the community of birth. Persons living outside the community of birth are, for the most part, internal migrants, although small numbers of foreign-born are included. Persons living in the community of birth may be taken as a reasonably satisfactory control group of nonmigrants, although, of course, an unknown number of return migrants are included.

The census grouping of "rural" and "urban" is not only too crude for significant sociological analysis but introduces certain ambiguities in the interpretation of the data. In Sweden urban places vary in population from about 800 to 500,000. Stockholm, the capital, is distinguished from all other urban places, not only by size, but by its pronounced metropolitan and cosmopolitan characteristics. Gothenburg and Malmö, the two next largest cities, are administrative, commercial and economic centers of much greater importance than any other cities except Stockholm. It was considered desirable, therefore, to set off at least these three cities from the heterogeneous group of industrial and provincial towns, local administrative centers, market towns, holiday resorts, and satellite suburbs which constitute the remainder of urban areas. Through the courtesy of the Swedish Census Bureau, a special tabulation was ob-

<sup>5</sup> See E. R. Groves and W. F. Ogburn, *American Marriage and Family Relationships* (New York, 1928), pp. 193-218.

<sup>6</sup> Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 59.



tained for these three cities and in addition the next largest, Norrköping. Three urban classes were, therefore, formed:

- (1) Stockholm, the capital and metropolis.
- (2) The three next largest cities.
- (3) The remainder, designated as "small towns" and varying in population from 800 to 56,000.

For technical as well as sociological reasons, it was necessary to isolate groups (1) and (2) from the others, for whereas each rural community and smaller town is considered part of a "region" within which internal migrations may occur, each of these four cities forms a region of its own. Thus, it is possible to differentiate between "near" and "far" migrants for rural areas and small towns, in terms of intraregional and extraregional moves, whereas all migrants to the larger cities are, by definition, extraregional.

The proportions married were computed for each migrant group and for the control group, by sex and five-year age groups, for rural areas and each of the urban classes.<sup>7</sup> Since the maximum frequency of the married falls, on the average, within an age group five years younger for females than for males, the analysis for females begins at ages 20-24, for males 25-29, both extending through ages 70-74. Because of random fluctuations in the data, some system of smoothing was necessary. A three-year period moving average was therefore computed for each series and these moving averages were corrected for convexity<sup>8</sup> (see Tables 1 and 2).

<sup>7</sup> Swedish census data on age, civil status and residence by sex are highly reliable. See D. S. Thomas, *Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials* (Social Science Research Council, New York, 1938) pp. 410-13 for a brief description of the source, and pp. 26-41, 60-65 and 87-92 for other uses of data from this source.

<sup>8</sup> The moving average of a convex series is below the "true" trend, hence the sum of the values of the moving average is always less than that of the observations. This systematic discrepancy (apparent in all the series considered) was allowed for by applying the formula

$$y = a + b\sqrt{x}$$

to the differences between the observations and the moving average and adding the correction, so obtained, to the moving average.

TABLE 1  
POPULATION, MARRIED AND DIVORCED, BY SEX, AGE, COMMUNITY GROUP AND MIGRATION STATUS, SWEDEN, 1930\*

Ages	Nonmigrants Resident in Community of Birth			Near migrants Resident in Region (not Community) of Birth			Far migrants Resident Outside Region of Birth		
	Population	Married	Divorced	Population	Married	Divorced	Population	Married	Divorced
Rural Areas: Males									
25-29.....	91,621	22,692	....	27,580	10,738	....	45,977	18,173	....
30-34.....	75,501	36,449	110	27,161	17,786	51	45,857	30,822	151
35-39.....	62,723	39,155	144	24,679	19,136	74	44,426	35,523	234
40-44.....	55,212	38,058	177	23,076	18,942	89	41,562	34,722	258
45-49.....	50,246	35,925	178	21,241	17,591	92	37,648	31,744	317
50-54.....	46,922	33,974	190	20,570	17,007	107	35,274	29,484	315
55-59.....	41,785	29,803	193	18,790	15,148	110	30,274	24,584	316
60-64.....	34,333	23,679	....	15,658	12,045	....	24,020	18,715	....
65-69.....	32,765	21,116	....	15,362	10,938	....	22,290	15,957	....
70-74.....	26,852	15,506	....	12,324	7,832	....	17,072	10,794	....
Small Towns: Males									
25-29.....	18,221	5,866	....	7,105	2,959	....	18,402	6,981	....
30-34.....	13,168	7,593	63	7,293	4,896	43	19,525	13,195	114
35-39.....	9,904	6,907	103	6,999	5,568	39	19,622	15,723	180
40-44.....	7,841	5,682	81	6,407	5,320	54	18,953	15,947	214
45-49.....	6,111	4,474	74	6,188	5,154	59	17,793	15,118	227
50-54.....	4,900	3,674	55	5,787	4,728	67	15,780	13,338	222
55-59.....	3,431	2,478	45	5,057	4,052	63	12,828	10,566	179
60-64.....	2,373	1,578	....	4,115	3,069	....	10,011	7,807	....
65-69.....	1,977	1,243	....	3,713	2,635	....	8,555	6,124	....
70-74.....	1,297	709	....	2,769	1,753	....	6,259	4,065	....

\*Source: Data for rural areas are from *Sveriges Officiella Statistik, Folkräkningen den 31 december 1930*, II, 24-25; for three large cities and Stockholm, from a special tabulation obtained through the courtesy of Dr. Ernst Höjer of the Swedish Census Bureau; for small towns, by subtracting the sum of the data for three large cities and Stockholm from the data for all towns and cities in *Sveriges Officiella Statistik*, *op. cit.*, 26-27.

TABLE 1 (CONTINUED)

Ages	Nonmigrants Resident in Community of Birth			Near migrants Resident in Region (not Community) of Birth			Far migrants Resident Outside Region of Birth		
	Population	Married	Divorced	Population	Married	Divorced	Population	Married	Divorced
Rural Areas: Females									
20-24.....	87,630	13,378	....	27,556	8,747	....	46,037	13,845	....
25-29.....	69,770	27,533	....	29,116	18,290	....	51,446	31,501	....
30-34.....	59,961	33,384	213	29,607	22,471	96	53,374	39,689	294
35-39.....	53,087	33,400	235	27,764	22,036	137	51,396	40,354	370
40-44.....	49,464	31,452	286	26,465	20,783	162	47,610	37,485	438
45-49.....	45,480	29,078	289	24,010	28,557	143	41,859	32,566	455
50-54.....	42,675	26,556	275	23,091	17,139	145	37,484	28,097	408
55-59.....	38,808	23,072	235	20,944	14,764	118	31,600	22,431	310
60-64.....	33,433	18,031	....	18,442	11,696	....	25,828	16,528	....
65-69.....	33,152	15,859	....	18,566	10,325	....	24,293	13,621	....
70-74.....	28,034	10,603	....	15,281	6,819	....	18,550	8,326	....
Small Towns: Females									
20-24.....	23,026	2,949	....	10,525	2,120	....	24,969	4,643	....
25-29.....	16,347	5,886	....	10,291	5,055	....	26,420	12,180	....
30-34.....	11,942	6,111	100	9,050	5,978	60	25,169	16,070	236
35-39.....	9,342	5,135	138	8,088	5,575	102	24,259	17,176	299
40-44.....	8,026	4,412	136	7,732	5,302	107	22,648	15,969	375
45-49.....	6,613	3,601	114	7,586	5,075	121	20,756	14,310	385
50-54.....	5,437	2,731	107	7,271	4,509	131	18,390	12,032	408
55-59.....	4,137	1,898	64	6,295	3,640	118	15,331	9,154	339
60-64.....	3,459	1,273	....	5,407	2,717	....	12,756	6,475	....
65-69.....	3,111	937	....	5,479	2,344	....	11,564	5,010	....
70-74.....	2,312	567	....	4,330	1,465	....	8,861	2,939	....

TABLE 1 (CONTINUED)

Ages	Nonmigrants Resident in Community of Birth			Migrants Resident Outside Region of Birth		
	Population	Married	Divorced	Population	Married	Divorced
<i>Three Large Cities: Males</i>						
25-29.....	10,997	3,778	....	7,194	2,727	....
30-34.....	8,516	5,296	92	8,871	5,841	86
35-39.....	6,543	4,782	97	9,319	7,216	135
40-44.....	5,898	4,448	92	9,041	7,346	136
45-49.....	4,574	3,392	88	8,389	6,786	176
50-54.....	3,183	2,294	78	7,624	6,104	171
55-59.....	2,155	1,509	37	6,208	4,795	136
60-64.....	1,419	945	....	4,611	3,513	....
65-69.....	1,059	643	....	3,891	2,667	....
70-74.....	595	311	....	2,754	1,635	....

*Stockholm: Males*

25-29.....	9,497	3,155	....	13,830	4,772	....
30-34.....	7,894	4,830	127	13,807	8,454	204
35-39.....	6,880	4,939	184	13,274	9,793	295
40-44.....	5,866	4,345	199	13,039	10,109	361
45-49.....	4,242	3,100	168	12,613	9,788	388
50-54.....	2,730	1,936	92	10,873	8,253	356
55-59.....	1,739	1,196	54	8,004	5,940	248
60-64.....	1,321	896	....	5,728	3,994	....
65-69.....	976	566	....	4,631	3,042	....
70-74.....	524	306	....	3,216	1,856	....

*Three Large Cities: Females*

20-24.....	13,402	1,910	....	10,345	1,795	....
25-29.....	10,828	4,531	....	11,357	5,126	....
30-34.....	8,070	4,617	120	11,482	7,237	140
35-39.....	6,897	4,247	139	11,011	7,568	189
40-44.....	6,214	3,712	132	10,453	7,119	237
45-49.....	4,966	2,810	119	9,639	6,359	258
50-54.....	3,850	2,075	90	8,705	5,339	250
55-59.....	2,779	1,305	67	7,268	4,001	210
60-64.....	2,068	814	....	5,935	2,847	....
65-69.....	1,600	481	....	5,444	2,206	....
70-74.....	1,165	286	....	4,275	1,336	....

*Stockholm: Females*

20-24.....	12,404	1,717	....	19,278	2,515	....
25-29.....	9,428	3,801	....	21,004	7,694	....
30-34.....	8,009	4,499	213	19,311	10,358	342
35-39.....	7,265	4,190	267	17,621	10,415	500
40-44.....	6,625	3,768	260	16,161	9,731	608
45-49.....	4,903	2,638	253	14,246	8,333	568
50-54.....	3,623	1,783	169	12,592	6,870	545
55-59.....	2,680	1,125	116	10,127	4,887	428
60-64.....	2,359	723	....	8,429	3,404	....
65-69.....	1,912	474	....	7,818	2,474	....
70-74.....	1,323	236	....	5,813	1,352	....

TABLE 2

PROPORTION MARRIED PER 1,000 POPULATION AND PROPORTION DIVORCED PER 1,000 MARRIED BY SEX, AGE, COMMUNITY GROUP,  
AND MIGRATION STATUS, SWEDEN, 1930

Ages	Rural Areas						Small Towns						Three Large Cities						Stockholm					
	Males			Females			Males			Females			Males			Females			Males		Females			
	Non-migrants	Near migrants	Far migrants	Non-migrants	Near migrants	Far migrants	Non-migrants	Near migrants	Far migrants	Non-migrants	Near migrants	Far migrants	Non-migrants	Near migrants	Far migrants	Non-migrants	Near migrants	Far migrants	Non-migrants	Near migrants	Far migrants	Non-migrants	Near migrants	Far migrants
Proportion married per 1000 population (smoothed)																								
25-29	482	648	666	397	617	601	572	667	668	494	465	613	649	561	614	609	607	410	375					
30-34	619	776	796	623	802	795	690	790	802	553	699	703	730	775	614	695	719	734	588					
35-39	691	827	846	649	801	800	736	837	852	560	697	716	762	819	691	749	782	575	592					
40-44	721	839	852	644	779	784	749	840	859	540	669	694	753	823	576	662	737	542	566					
45-49	726	828	840	628	748	754	744	826	849	507	629	655	730	804	530	616	712	768	588					
50-54	716	807	815	592	698	704	718	793	820	446	571	592	700	784	469	553	689	489	545					
55-59	688	764	771	542	631	638	675	754	773	376	504	516	658	742	386	481	641	701	483					
60-64	640	704	708	469	542	547	613	695	711	302	421	425	596	679	308	398	601	642	404					
65-69																			319					
Proportion divorced per 1000 married (smoothed)																								
35-39	3.8	3.9	6.4	7.2	6.3	9.2	12.3	7.9	11.4	26.1	17.6	17.9	18.7	17.8	32.3	25.6	37.5	30.0	62.1	48.6				
40-44	4.5	4.6	8.1	8.8	7.4	11.8	15.5	8.9	13.5	31.1	21.2	22.2	23.3	21.4	37.4	32.8	46.9	35.8	76.9	60.1				
45-49	5.0	5.4	9.3	10.0	8.2	13.8	15.7	11.7	15.2	35.2	24.4	28.2	28.5	24.4	40.2	40.3	50.3	40.3	86.7	70.5				
50-54	5.6	6.2	10.9	10.5	8.3	14.6	17.2	14.2	16.4	36.1	28.2	33.5	30.4	27.6	44.1	47.0	50.1	42.5	97.7	78.8				



The migration differential, if expressed in terms of the percentage deviation of the proportion married of each migrant group from the proportion married in the corresponding control group of nonmigrants, is as follows (per cent excess +, per cent deficiency —):

Ages	Rural Areas				Small Towns				Three Large Cities		Stockholm	
	Near		Far		Near		Far		M.	F.	M.	F.
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.				
25-29.....	....	+55	....	+51	....	+34	....	+26	....	+ 8	....	- 9
30-34.....	+34	+39	+38	+36	+17	+29	+17	+26	+ 6	+ 9	0	- 4
35-39.....	+25	+29	+29	+28	+14	+26	+16	+27	+ 6	+12	+ 2	+ 1
40-44.....	+20	+23	+22	+23	+14	+24	+16	+28	+ 7	+14	+ 4	+ 5
45-49.....	+16	+21	+18	+22	+12	+24	+15	+29	+ 9	+15	+ 6	+ 8
50-54.....	+14	+19	+16	+20	+11	+24	+14	+29	+10	+16	+ 8	+11
55-59.....	+13	+18	+14	+19	+10	+28	+14	+33	+12	+18	+ 7	+18
60-64.....	+11	+16	+12	+18	+12	+34	+15	+37	+13	+25	+ 9	+25
65-69.....	+10	+16	+11	+17	+13	+39	+16	+41	+14	+29	+ 7	+33

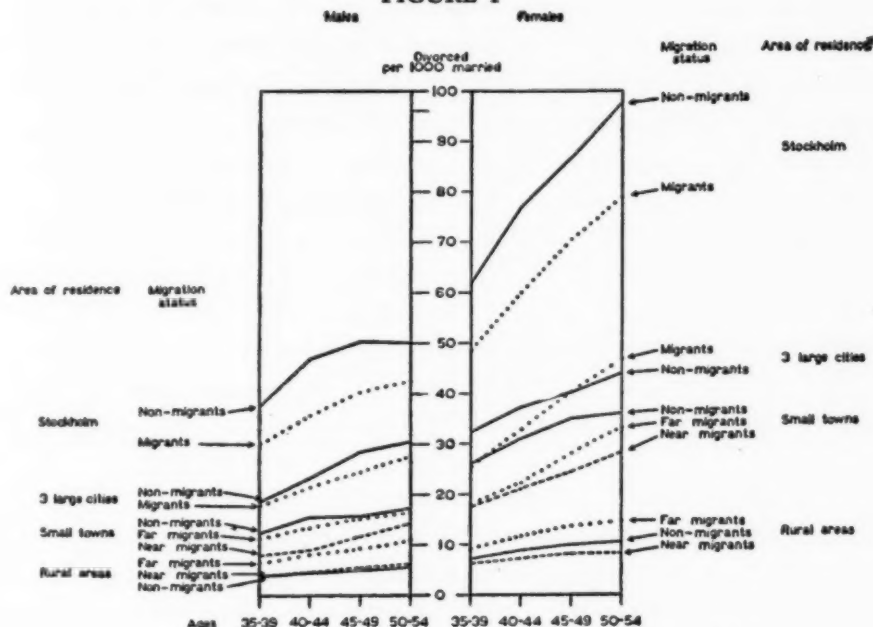
Migrant groups have higher proportions married than do the corresponding control groups of nonmigrants. This relationship holds for both sexes, for near and far migrants, for all types of community of residence, and, with only two exceptions, for the whole range of ages considered. These two exceptions are both for Stockholm migrants: males aged 30-34 have the same and females aged 25-34 slightly higher proportions married among nonmigrants than among migrants. The differential decreases with age for both near and far migrants, for both males and females to rural areas; remains relatively constant over the whole range of age groups for male migrants, near and far, to small towns; and tends to increase with age for all other groups but particularly for females to large cities and Stockholm. The favorable differential is, in general, more pronounced for females than for males. Thus we are able to state categorically that Swedish migrants do not have less stable family relationships than nonmigrants. On the contrary, persons living outside the community of birth are considerably more likely to be found in the married state than persons living in the community of birth. In reaching this generalization we have held constant age, sex, distance spanned (crudely), and type of community of residence. We cannot, however, without further research, disentangle the causal nexus. Selection of the physically fit may play a not unimportant role.<sup>9</sup> Both migration and marriage being age selective of young adults, the increase

<sup>9</sup> See E. P. Hutchinson, "Internal Migration and Tuberculosis Mortality in Sweden," *American Sociological Review*, I (1936), 273-85.

of the differential with age in towns and cities lends some weight to the selective migration hypothesis. On the other hand, change of residence may often occur in connection with plans for marriage. The sharp decrease of the differential with age in rural areas suggests that this latter factor may be important in connection with entrance to rural communities. Similarly the more favorable differential for females, in general, suggests that this same factor may operate in connection with andro-local residence.

If we attempted to determine the contribution of migrants to disorganization as measured by the proportion divorced, we would expect these groups to be unfavorably differentiated from the control group (i.e., higher proportions divorced), merely on the basis of their favor-

FIGURE 1



Source: Table 2

able marriage differential (i.e., higher proportions married), for marriage is prerequisite to divorce. If, however, we express the proportion divorced in terms of the married rather than of the total population, this factor is immediately controlled. The smoothed<sup>10</sup> proportions of divorced per 1000 married are shown in Table 2 and in Figure 1. Be-

<sup>10</sup> Most of the divorce series were convex, and were corrected in the same way as the marriage series (see footnote 8). The removal of the marriage differential from the divorce series, however, left a few series concave and these were corrected by applying the formula  $y=a+bx^2$  to the differences between the observed proportions and the moving average.

cause of irregularities in the data, analysis is limited to ages 35-54. The chart shows, in the first place, the very marked community and sex differentials: for each series (migrants or nonmigrants, males or females) the proportions divorced increase with the degree of urbanization from rural areas through small towns to large cities to the metropolis, and the proportions for each series of females are higher than those for the corresponding series of males. Similar differentials have, of course, been observed frequently for other areas and periods. The unique feature of this analysis is the comparison of migrants and nonmigrants for each community type and sex series: for all urban groups (with a minor exception for older females in large cities), the divorced proportions among the migrant population are significantly lower than those among the indigenous population. In rural areas, however, the situation is reversed for both near and far male migrants and for far female migrants. The percentage excess (+) or deficiency (—) of each migrant group over the corresponding nonmigrant group is as follows:

Ages	Rural Areas				Small Towns				Three Large Cities		Stockholm	
	Near		Far		Near		Far		M.	F.	M.	F.
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.				
35-39.....	+ 2	-13	+68	+28	-36	-33	- 8	-31	- 5	-21	-20	-22
40-44.....	+ 3	-15	+81	+35	-42	-32	-13	-29	- 8	-13	-24	-22
45-49.....	+ 7	-18	+85	+38	-25	-31	- 3	-20	-15	+ 0	-20	-19
50-54.....	+12	-21	+96	+39	-17	-22	- 4	- 7	- 9	+ 7	-15	-19

The unfavorable showing of far migrants to rural areas is in sharp contrast to the favorable showing of male near migrants to small towns and to Stockholm, and of all urban groups of female migrants (with the exception for older females in large cities), the divorced proportions among make a favorable showing in respect to divorce, and this tendency is positively associated, not with the marriage differential, but with the urban environment. Again, we cannot interpret the causal antecedents with any degree of assurance. A likely explanation is that divorce is an urban culture pattern, which is assimilated less rapidly by migrants than by natives. It is possible, however, that disorganization may take other forms (desertion, etc.) among migrants. Furthermore, it is not improbable that migrants to urban areas have attained a less favorable socioeconomic position than resident natives, which may account for

part of the discrepancy, owing to different habits of different socioeconomic classes, and to the fact that divorce is costly.

It should be noted, in passing, that the large rural differential must be interpreted in terms of the extremely low proportions of the divorced among the indigenous population, and not in terms of excessive proportions among rural migrants, compared with other migrant groups. It should be further kept in mind that return migrants *to the community of birth* are excluded by definition from the migrant classes, which means that the results cannot be interpreted in terms either of patterns learned in the city and carried back to the community of birth, or of the probability of a high incidence of social failures among such return migrants. It is undoubtedly true, however, that many migrants to rural areas were born in other rural communities than the one of residence in 1930, and, in the course of their repeated migrations, had resided for longer or shorter periods in towns or cities.

The results are not merely an artifact of the technique of analysis. If the number of divorced is expressed on the base of the total population instead of the married population of a given age, sex, and community group, rural areas with an unfavorable migration differential are most strongly contrasted with Stockholm, with a favorable differential. The other city and town groups are less consistently differentiated but tend to conform to the pattern described.

In spite of various uncertainties in interpretation, the results of this analysis are clear-cut: migrants make in general a favorable showing in achieving and maintaining the marital state, when compared with nonmigrants. Migrants to rural areas, from distant communities, are a striking exception to this general tendency insofar as the proportion divorced is concerned.)

# Rural Youth Studies in the United States

*Robin M. Williams\**

## ABSTRACT

Many studies of rural youth have been made in recent years. Analysis of the findings shows a residue of empirical generalizations relating to migration, employment and occupational status, income, education, leisure-time activities, and organizational participations. The problems of youth are found to reflect regional characteristics as well as trends in the total social organization. Evidence points to important tendencies of "urbanization" and "secularization" in rural society as exemplified in the youth population. An age-cycle in the relation of youths to the institutional framework of their communities is indicated by several studies.

Monographic youth studies have made valuable contributions but have sometimes lacked adequate conceptualization of the facts observed. The strategic importance of research on youth at the present time lies in the position of this group as a focus of societal tensions. Suggestions are offered as to promising approaches for further research.

Part of the recent increase of interest in "youth" has arisen as a result of the economic depression. The plight of young people out-of-school and out-of-work has caught public attention as have few other aspects of the depression period. In view of the large number of studies in this field,<sup>1</sup> this presentation is limited to a compilation of some of the findings reported by selected investigations. Although all youth studies have not been included, this paper analyzes a majority of the representative investigations published since 1930. The definition of "youth" has differed from study to study but the age limits most often used are 15-29 and 16-24. Both open country and village youths have been studied, as well as married and unmarried, and those in school and out of school. Several studies have been concerned exclusively with "disadvantaged" youth.

Since it is impossible to review all of the specific facts collected by these investigations, the procedure here will be to summarize briefly the findings regarding those topics which have been investigated most frequently. Where possible these findings have been stated in concise

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<sup>1</sup> The rapid increase since 1933 in the number of publications dealing with rural youth is indicated by the items in the bibliography entitled *Farm Youth in the United States: A Selected List of References Issued Since October, 1926*. BAE Agricultural Economics Bibliography 65, supplement 17 (Washington, June, 1936). Mimeographed.



form, as in Section I to follow; in other cases, due to lack of strict comparability of the data, it has been necessary to present a running account of the facts and generalizations which have been advanced.

## I. MIGRATION FROM PARENTAL HOME

One topic frequently treated is that of the migrations of rural youth. It is a commonplace, for example, that rural-urban migration occurs mainly in the younger age groups<sup>2</sup> and that the breaking away of youths from the parental home is a normal process in the life-cycle of rural families in American culture.<sup>3</sup> Some of the generalizations which have been advanced with respect to such migration are summarized below:

1. Females leave the farms in greater numbers and at an earlier age than males. This is a well established point. Among the numerous studies may be cited such representative investigations as those of Hamilton, Lively, Beck, Murchie and Jarchow, and W. A. Anderson.
2. Migration begins in early adolescence, reaches its greatest volume at about age 18 for females and age 21 for males, and is practically complete by age 30.<sup>4</sup>
3. Although there are local exceptions due to varying urban employment opportunities, in general rural-urban migration selects a disproportionate percentage of females.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> P. A. Sorokin, C. C. Zimmerman, and C. J. Galpin, *A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology* (Minneapolis, 1932); P. A. Sorokin and C. C. Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology* (New York, 1929); H. A. Phelps, *Principles and Laws of Sociology* (New York, 1936).

<sup>3</sup> C. P. Loomis, *The Growth of the Farm Family in Relation to Its Activities*, North Carolina AESB 208 (Raleigh, June, 1934); E. L. Kirkpatrick, Rosalind Tough, and May L. Cowles, *The Life Cycle of the Farm Family*, University of Wisconsin AESB 121 (Madison, June, 1934); C. H. Hamilton, "The Annual Rate of Departure of Rural Youths from Their Parental Homes," *Rural Sociology*, I (June, 1936); Carter Goodrich, et al., *Migration and Economic Opportunity* (Philadelphia, 1936).

<sup>4</sup> A. A. Smick and F. R. Yoder, *A Study of Migration in Selected Communities in the State of Washington*, Washington AESB 233 (Pullman, June, 1929); W. A. Anderson, *Migration of Sons and Daughters of White Farmers in Wake County*, North Carolina AESB 275 (Raleigh, June, 1930); R. M. Williams, *Rural Youth in North Carolina*, North Carolina AES unpublished MS, 1938.

<sup>5</sup> C. E. Lively and P. G. Beck, *Movement of Open Country Population in Ohio*, Ohio AESB 467 (Columbus, November, 1930); R. W. Murchie and M. E. Jarchow, *Population Trends in Minnesota*, University of Minnesota AESB 327 (University Farm, May, 1936); P. G. Beck, *Recent Trends in the Rural Population of Ohio*, Ohio AESB 533 (Columbus, May, 1934); W. A. Anderson, *Mobility of Rural Families, II*, Cornell University AESB 623 (Ithaca, March, 1935); Anderson, *Migration of Sons and Daughters of White Farmers in Wake County*; Paul H. Landis, *Rural Population Trends in Washington*, Washington AESB 333 (Pullman, July, 1936).

4. The majority of rural youths settle near their parental homes upon migration; i.e., most migrations are for short distances.<sup>6</sup>
5. There is a tendency for the better educated youths to go to the cities and towns. The average differential in training, however, is not large; selection operates chiefly on the extremes of the educational distribution.<sup>7</sup>
6. In Southern areas having a large percentage of Negro population, Negroes migrate to the cities at a higher rate than do the whites. Also it appears that there is a tendency for Negroes either to stay very near the parental home or to migrate to relatively distant cities.<sup>8</sup>
7. The greater the distance of migration the larger the city of destination.<sup>9</sup>
8. Youths from farm tenant households are more mobile than those from owner households on short moves but less mobile on long moves. Also, females from tenant households migrate earlier than those from owner families, whereas the opposite situation prevails among males.<sup>10</sup>
9. Male migrants to cities travel longer distances than do females.<sup>11</sup>
10. With respect to the proportion of youths migrating to cities the similarities among the various socioeconomic groups of the farm population appear to be more important than the differences. No very consistent selective tendencies have been shown.<sup>12</sup>
11. The occupations into which rural-urban migrants enter are chiefly in the lower socioeconomic levels. Smick and Yoder found that the greater proportion of urban migrants entered either the laboring or the professional classes. Williams indicated that the majority of migrants to the cities first entered unskilled labor or clerical occupations. Anderson's study similarly showed a predominance of unskilled and skilled laborers among migrants in occupations other than farming. It may be suggested that the situation is somewhat as follows: among white youths, the nearby cities attract larger proportions of laborers, very large cities and distant urban centers

<sup>6</sup> Loomis, *op. cit.*; Hamilton, *op. cit.*; Anderson, *Mobility of Rural Families*; Williams, *op. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> See the studies of Hamilton, Anderson, and Williams cited above. Also: Smick and Yoder, *op. cit.*; T. C. McCormick, *Rural Social Organization in Washington County, Arkansas*, Arkansas AESB 285 (Little Rock, May, 1933); McCormick, *Rural Social Organization in the Rice Area*, Arkansas AESB 296 (Little Rock, December, 1933).

<sup>8</sup> Hamilton, *Recent Trends in the Social and Economic Status of North Carolina Farm Families*, North Carolina AESB 309 (Raleigh, May, 1937); Hamilton, *Rural-Urban Migration in North Carolina, 1920-30*, North Carolina AESB 205 (Raleigh, February, 1934); Williams, *op. cit.*

<sup>9</sup> Anderson, *Migration of Sons and Daughters of White Farmers in Wake County*.

<sup>10</sup> Loomis, *op. cit.*; Hamilton, *Recent Trends in the Social and Economic Status of North Carolina Farm Families*; Anderson, *Migration of Sons and Daughters*.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *ibid.* Not shown by Hamilton in *Recent Trends in the Social and Economic Status of North Carolina Farm Families*.

<sup>12</sup> The literature is voluminous. A summary is given in Sorokin, Zimmerman, and Galpin, *op. cit.*, pp. 491-98. Among later studies, Anderson (*Mobility of Rural Families*) found only slight differences.

attract larger proportions of the very capable into professional and other "upper class" occupations. Among Negroes, the situation is complicated by the fact of a South-to-North movement, involving somewhat different cultural situations as regards race relations. Although there is some evidence of the "selection of extremes" in this migration, the amount of selection in all groups seems to be quite sensitive to local employment opportunities and other factors, and few tendencies may be said to be of general application at all times and in all localities.

12. In spite of a falling rate of natural increase in the rural population, the number of rural youths will continue to increase for several years to come. The result is likely to be a youth population in excess of the labor requirements of agriculture. Varying regional incidences of maturation of youths show that this problem will be particularly important in the Southeastern states.
13. Curtailment of rural-urban migration during the depression years was greater among relief than among non-relief families in the same areas, and was also greater in the "poorer" than in the "richer" rural areas.<sup>13</sup>

## II. VOCATIONAL CHOICES AND EXPECTATIONS

In simple and stable rural societies occupation is largely a matter of status, tradition, and social rôle. In more complex and shifting societies such as that of the United States at the present time, there is greater uncertainty as to future occupational status, a wider range of "choice." Occupation depends more largely on individual and class competition based on training, differential social and economic opportunities, and changing economic conditions in different regions and industries. In such a culture, the occupational preferences of youth are of considerable sociological interest from the standpoint of occupational prestige, status aspirations, and the divergence between such ambitions and the opportunities actually afforded by the culture. This problem is of administrative importance in view of the recent emphasis upon vocational training and guidance in educational programs.

Several studies have investigated the vocational choices of rural youth. Although both the classifications of occupations and the techniques of eliciting choices have varied from study to study, there is a rather high agreement as to the occupations most frequently chosen or anticipated by rural young people. On the basis of the most frequently mentioned choices in each study, among open country boys the occupations rank as follows: (a) farming, (b) mechanics, (c) engineering, (d) aviation,

<sup>13</sup> See Hamilton, *Recent Trends in the Social and Economic Status of North Carolina Farm Families*; and Goodrich, *op. cit.*, chapter IX, with further references listed there.

(e) professional work. Village boys select skilled labor and mechanics as their first choice, the next most popular vocations being unskilled and semiskilled labor, aviation and the professions, farming, and forestry, in the order named. Among both open country and village girls teaching is the occupation most frequently chosen, being closely followed by clerical, stenographic, and secretarial occupations. Nursing, homemaking, and beauty culture complete the list.

The proportion of boys choosing farming varies from a minimum of one sixth to a maximum of only one half of the cases studied. In Connecticut, for example, 34 per cent of the farm males and 19 per cent of the farm females stated that farming would be satisfactory as a life work.<sup>14</sup> Many more of these young people would like to live in the country than would prefer farming as a life work. In Maryland, 50 per cent of the boys out of school preferred farming but only 24 per cent of those in school chose this occupation.<sup>15</sup> If the vocational choices expressed by youths have any significance, they indicate a widespread desire for occupations leading away from the farm.<sup>16</sup> The mechanical and professional pursuits have captured the aspirations of rural boys while the rôles of the teacher and of the office worker are those most desired by the girls.

### III. EXTENT OF UNEMPLOYMENT

The counterpart of *unemployment* in industry is *under-employment* in agriculture.<sup>17</sup> In periods of depression there is an additional "surplus" of rural youth due to curtailed rural-urban migration which increases the proportion of unpaid family laborers; of the farm youth have been found few persons unemployed in the sense of having nothing to do.<sup>18</sup> It is not possible to state what proportion of persons reported as "employed" were unpaid family laborers who under more

<sup>14</sup> A. J. Brundage and M. C. Wilson, *Situations, Problems, and Interests of Unmarried Rural Young People 16-25 Years of Age, Survey of Five Connecticut Townships, 1934*, USDA Extension Service Circular 239 (Washington, April, 1936).

<sup>15</sup> Barnard D. Joy and T. B. Manny, *Situations, Problems, and Interests of Unmarried Rural Young People, 16-25 Years of Age, Maryland*, USDA Extension Service Circular 269 (Washington, August, 1937). Data are also available in H. M. Bell, *Youth Tell Their Story* (Washington, 1938).

<sup>16</sup> Evidence, from a different type of analysis, of the slackening of interest in farming is given in: J. L. Hypes, *et al.*, *Connecticut Rural Youth and Farming Occupations*, Storrs AESB 182 (Storrs, 1932).

<sup>17</sup> Louise E. Howard, *Labour in Agriculture: An International Survey* (New York, 1935).

<sup>18</sup> Carl H. Jessen and H. C. Hutchins, *Youth-Community Surveys*, USDI, Office of Education, Bulletin 1936, No. 18-VI (Washington, 1936).

favorable economic conditions would have been working for pay. Probably at least one half of all unmarried rural youths are employed in farm work without regular remuneration. A survey of rural youths on relief in Colorado<sup>19</sup> indicated that nearly one half of the open country males were employed as laborers on the home farm. In North Carolina almost two thirds of the single boys were unpaid family laborers.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, an Ohio survey indicated that among youth out of school 56 per cent of the boys and 73 per cent of the girls were without definite arrangements for economic return from their labor,<sup>21</sup> and in Maryland 55 per cent of the out-of-school unmarried boys were working on the home farm.<sup>22</sup> Unemployment in the sense of having nothing to do is most serious among village youths and is more prevalent among girls than among boys. The economic situation among farm youths is fairly clear. Large numbers of young people out of school have been unable to secure remunerative employment and have remained with their parents as family workers.<sup>23</sup> If and when increased industrial activity provides for a removal of part of the unneeded rural youth population, this situation may be expected to improve, but the revival of industrial employment is only a partial answer to the question of employment for youths.<sup>24</sup>

Not all studies have reported unsatisfactory economic conditions among rural youths. A survey of five Connecticut townships in the depression year of 1934 found 70 per cent of unmarried boys and 46 per cent of unmarried girls reporting opportunities for employment away from home. The authors state, "on the whole, therefore, the young people studied were well provided for from the standpoint of funds to care for their social and recreational needs."<sup>25</sup>

#### IV. OCCUPATIONS

Inspection of the results of the various studies shows wide variability among different regions and different population classes in the

<sup>19</sup> Olaf F. Larson and J. E. Wilson, *Rural Youth on Relief in Colorado*, Colorado State AES RB 3 (Fort Collins, June, 1936). Mimeographed.

<sup>20</sup> Williams, *op. cit.*

<sup>21</sup> W. A. Anderson and W. Kerns, *Interests, Activities, and Problems of Rural Young Folk*, Cornell University AESB 631 (Ithaca, May, 1935).

<sup>22</sup> Joy and Manny, *op. cit.*

<sup>23</sup> E. L. Morgan and M. W. Sneed, *The Activities of Rural Young People in Missouri*, Missouri AES RB 269 (Columbia, November, 1937).

<sup>24</sup> Bruce L. Melvin, *Rural Youth on Relief*, WPA, Division of Social Research, Research Monograph XI (Washington, 1937).

<sup>25</sup> Brundage and Wilson, *op. cit.*



occupations in which young people are engaged; however, agriculture supplies a large proportion of the employment opportunities of both open country and village youths. As might be expected, very few youths are employed in skilled, clerical, or professional vocations. Common labor, for example, is the occupation of one fifth of the open country unmarried males and of 38 per cent of the village males in a New York community. The range in the percentage of unskilled workers is from about one tenth to nearly one half of the cases.<sup>26</sup>

### V. EARNINGS

Obviously, the incomes of any particular age-segment of the population will follow the tendencies of the region and of the population class to which it belongs. On this basis it is possible to demarcate areas of low income covering much of the Southeastern region, the Appalachians, the Lake States Cut-Over area, and certain areas in the Southwest.<sup>27</sup> Within these areas the opportunities of youth for earning high incomes are unfavorable and the increasing youth population is not likely to ease the situation for some decades to come. In view of the high proportion of unpaid family workers among rural youths, it is not to be expected that their incomes would be comparable with those of adults. In Waushara county, Wisconsin, incomes of youths averaged \$101 annually, rising from \$29 at 15-19 years of age to \$220 in the 25-29 age group.<sup>28</sup> A similar situation was found in Wood county, Wisconsin.<sup>29</sup> Among out-of-school farm youths in Iowa, one third earned \$5-10 per week; one third, \$10-15; and one sixth, \$15-20.<sup>30</sup> A survey of high school youths in Missouri showed that about one fourth of the boys and two thirds of the girls had no earnings, while nearly one half of the boys and one third of the girls reported incomes of \$1-75 per year.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Bulletins previously cited. Few comparable classifications were found. For a detailed study of occupations see: Dorothy Dickins, *Occupations of Sons and Daughters of Mississippi Cotton Farmers*, Mississippi AESB 318 (State College, May, 1937).

<sup>27</sup> Carl C. Taylor, *Constructive Measures for Dealing with the South's Population Problems*, address, Southern Sociological Society, April 2, 1938, and USDA Mimeographed Release, 1938.

<sup>28</sup> E. L. Kirkpatrick and Agnes M. Boynton, "Rural Young People," *Rural Sociology*, I (June, 1936).

<sup>29</sup> Mildred B. Thurow, *Interests, Activities and Problems of Rural Young Folk*, Cornell University AESB 617 (Ithaca, December, 1934).

<sup>30</sup> J. A. Starrack, *A Survey of Out-of-School Rural Youth in Iowa*, State Planning Board, Mimeographed Release (Des Moines, 1935).

<sup>31</sup> C. E. Lively and L. J. Miller, *Rural Young People, 16 to 24 Years of Age*, Ohio AESB 73 (Columbus, July, 1934). Mimeographed.

The studies in New York found average weekly earnings of \$13 for unmarried boys and girls. Eighty-eight per cent of the married girls received no weekly pay.<sup>82</sup> Beers's study of incomes among youths in school showed that the modal income among boys 15-20 years of age was in the \$100-199 class.<sup>83</sup> In North Carolina, among youths 15-24 years of age, yearly cash incomes averaged \$177 for white boys, \$84 for white girls, \$72 for colored boys, and \$32 for colored girls.<sup>84</sup> Finally, in Connecticut an average cash income of \$232 was reported by 95 per cent of rural youths.<sup>85</sup> In contrast was the situation in Maryland where median cash incomes were \$103 for young men and \$50 for young women.<sup>86</sup>

Several generalizations with regard to income among rural youth seem to be valid. Among these are the following: Earnings of boys are generally higher than those of girls; village youths have higher incomes than open country persons; incomes increase with advancing age; married males have higher incomes than single males; out-of-school youths earn more than those in school; the majority of youths below 25 years of age are wholly or in part dependent upon their parents for maintenance and spending money; earnings of youths are lowest in certain low income areas of the South, the Southwest, the Appalachians, and the Cut-Over regions of the Lake States.

## VI. EDUCATION

The studies have reported some rather definite findings with respect to educational levels. Rural girls attend school in larger proportions and reach a higher grade level than boys do.<sup>87</sup> While the average dif-

<sup>82</sup> Anderson, *Rural Youth: Activities, Interests and Problems*, Cornell University AESB 649 (Ithaca, May, 1936); Cornell University AESB 661 (Ithaca, January, 1937); Anderson and Kerns, *op. cit.*; Kirkpatrick and Boynton, *Interests and Needs of Rural Youth in Wood County, Wisconsin*, University of Wisconsin, Extension Service of College of Agriculture Special Circular (Madison, January, 1936).

<sup>83</sup> Howard W. Beers, *The Income, Savings, and Work of Boys and Girls on Farms in New York, 1930*, Cornell University AESB 560 (Ithaca, May, 1933).

<sup>84</sup> Williams, *op. cit.*

<sup>85</sup> Brundage and Wilson, *op. cit.*

<sup>86</sup> Joy and Manny, *op. cit.*

<sup>87</sup> This has been shown by many studies including those of Anderson, Kerns, Thurow, Kirkpatrick and Boynton, Morgan and Sneed, Hamilton, Larson and Wilson, Melvin, Williams, Joy and Manny, previously cited. Additional facts are given in: A. F. Wileden, *What Douglas County Young People Want and What They Are Doing About It*, University of Wisconsin Extension Service of College of Agriculture Special Circular (Madison, December, 1935); B. L. Hummel, *et al.*, *Youth on Relief in Virginia, 1935*, V.P.I. Rural Relief Series 9 (Blacksburg, December, 1936). Mimeographed; J. A. James and

ferential in grade attainment is not great, it is probably not unrelated to the changing status of women and to the interests of girls in white-collar occupations. Geographic variations in educational opportunities are reflected in the educational attainments of youth. It appears that the average Southern youth living in open country areas has only an elementary school education, whereas the Northern youth has practically completed high school. Village youth generally have more schooling than open country or farm youth, but there is evidence that this advantage is being narrowed: the studies in upstate New York showed little difference in education between open country and village groups,<sup>38</sup> and a Wisconsin survey indicated that the percentage increase in high school attendance in recent years has been greater among farm than among village youth.<sup>39</sup> The increasing use of village and town schools by children from the open country and the growth of state aid to schools may be expected further to reduce such differentials as now exist.<sup>40</sup> In addition to differences associated with sex, geographic location, and size of community, variations in the educational status of racial and socio-economic groups are shown in several investigations. White youths have more education than non-white youths;<sup>41</sup> youths from farm owner households more than those from lower tenure groups; non-relief children, more education than relief children. Children of the 7-15 age class in "disadvantaged" families go to school in as large proportions as non-relief children, but relief youths attend less at other age levels.<sup>42</sup>

Studies in Wisconsin have shown from one fifth to one third of all youths aged 15-29 in school. The proportion of *unmarried* persons in school is considerably higher, the reported figures ranging from one half to four fifths in New York and from one half to two thirds in Ohio. In North Carolina, one third of the colored, and slightly less than one half of the white youths, aged 15-29, were in school. In Connecticut 53.6 per cent of the women were in school as compared with 23.5 per cent of the men. Among unmarried youths in Maryland 36 per cent

J. H. Kolb, *Wisconsin Rural Youth: Education and Occupation*, University of Wisconsin AESB 347 (Madison, November, 1936).

<sup>38</sup> See the Cornell bulletins to which reference has been made above.

<sup>39</sup> James and Kolb, *op. cit.*

<sup>40</sup> Cf. E. deS. Brunner and I. Lorge, *Rural Trends in Depression Years* (New York, 1937).

<sup>41</sup> Hamilton, *Recent Trends in the Social and Economic Status of North Carolina Farm Families*; Hummel, *et al.*, *op. cit.*; Larson and Wilson, *op. cit.*; Melvin, *op. cit.*

<sup>42</sup> N. L. Whetten, *et al.*, *Rural Families on Relief in Connecticut*, Storrs AESB 215 (Storrs, January, 1937); Larson and Wilson, *op. cit.*

of the men and 47 per cent of the women were in school. Many unmarried young people are thus out of school and living at home. They are beyond the ages reached by such organizations as the 4-H clubs, but have not found their places as adults in the community. That a definite social "gap" exists between school and the achievement of an independent social and economic status cannot be doubted. Research is needed further to elucidate the problems and characteristics of this group, particularly in regard to the effects of their present situation upon personality development.

### VII. LEISURE-TIME ACTIVITIES

Reading is the most frequently reported form of leisure-time activity among rural young people.<sup>43</sup> Movies and plays share second place in popularity with sports and athletics, these being followed in order by (a) music or listening to the radio, (b) games such as cards and checkers, (c) household arts such as cooking and sewing, (d) motoring, (e) parties and dances.<sup>44</sup> The surveys upon which these rankings are based were made in the Northern and Middle Western states and it may be that a different picture would be found in other regions. Since reading is of such wide popularity as a leisure-time activity, it is of interest to note the types of reading material most often selected. The books most frequently mentioned are (a) general fiction, followed by specific types such as (b) adventure and mystery stories, (c) travel stories, and (d) biographies. General, household, and screen magazines are most popular among girls; farm journals and magazines dealing with mechanics and science are preferred by boys. When rural youths read the newspapers they give first attention to the news, then to the comics, sports, and features in the order named.<sup>45</sup> The extremely small percentage who read the editorials is an indication that this method of influencing attitudes is of slight importance among rural young people.

The emphasis placed upon social and recreational needs by young people themselves is quite striking. When youths are asked for suggestions as to community improvement, a large group register passive acceptance, having no suggestions to offer. Among those who express

<sup>43</sup> See the summary in Jessen and Hutchins, *op. cit.*; also the studies of Morgan and Sneed and of Brundage and Manny.

<sup>44</sup> Lively and Miller, *op. cit.*; Jessen and Hutchins, *op. cit.*

<sup>45</sup> Based on analysis of the results published in the following: Lively and Miller, *op. cit.*; the Cornell studies by Anderson, Kerns, Thurrow; the Wisconsin studies of Kirkpatrick and associates.

interests or advance suggestions, however, a preponderance of recreational wishes is the usual pattern. The possibility of a conflict of values in this situation has been noted by one study. "There appears to exist, however, a silent conflict between the interests of the old and young. This is shown in the emphasis which the largest class of older people (the farmer class) places upon traditional values (the church in particular) and the competing emphasis which the young people place upon play and recreation."<sup>46</sup> It may be that these findings are indicative of a shift from an older set of rural values centering around the "family-neighborhood-work-church" complex to those of an "individual-interest group-pleasure" culture configuration;<sup>47</sup> if so, these data are important both theoretically and from the standpoint of societal diagnosis.

#### VIII. CHURCH MEMBERSHIP AND ATTENDANCE

In all areas which have been studied, the church is an important source of contacts for young people, its dominance being emphasized by the scarcity of other types of organizations. In rural Ohio 66 per cent of youths belonged to the church but other organizational affiliations were meager.<sup>48</sup> Many other investigations also indicate that the church is the chief source of organized social contacts. Participations in church activities vary among the several classes of the rural population; girls generally participate to a greater extent than boys. Participation seems to vary directly with tenure status.<sup>49</sup> Further, at least one study has shown that the proportion of contacts furnished by the church is higher among non-owning families than among farm owners, although the actual amount of participation is less.<sup>50</sup> It may be suggested that the smaller the number of types of organizations available to a rural area or population class, the greater will be the relative importance of the church as a source of social contacts.

<sup>46</sup> E. L. Morgan and H. J. Burt, *Community Relations of Rural Young People*, Missouri AES RB 110 (Columbia, 1927).

<sup>47</sup> Compare the well-known studies of J. M. Williams in *Our Rural Heritage* and *The Expansion of Rural Life*. For a study of the impact of new values upon an isolated rural community see M. T. Matthews, *Experience-Worlds of Mountain People* (New York, 1937).

<sup>48</sup> Lively and Miller, *op. cit.*

<sup>49</sup> R. M. Williams, *op. cit.*; McCormick, *Rural Social Organization in the Rice Area*; Mary E. Frayser, *The Play and Recreation of Children and Youth in Selected Rural Areas of South Carolina*, South Carolina AESB 275 (Clemson, June, 1931); W. V. Dennis, *Organizations Affecting Farm Youth in Locust Township, Columbia County, Pennsylvania* AESB 265 (State College, June, 1931).

<sup>50</sup> R. M. Williams, *op. cit.*



## IX. OTHER "ORGANIZATIONS"

Certain tendencies elsewhere noted such as greater participation by girls than boys, tenure differences, etc., are evident in the data relating to participation in social organizations other than the church. There is also evidence of a definite age cycle in participations, the amount of such participations increasing from childhood to the ages of 15-19 and thereafter declining with advancing age.<sup>51</sup> In the more stable and isolated rural localities increasing age and the assumption of adult responsibilities is associated with a routinization of participations as the person more and more channelizes his behavior into definite institutional activities.<sup>52</sup> The North Carolina study showed that marriage was marked by a turning inward of participations from the town and the farm community to the family group. Gradually the church and the family absorb the interests of the person and the range of participations in other activities is correspondingly narrowed.<sup>53</sup> The studies in New York show that married youths are less likely to belong to organizations than single persons still in school but more likely to belong than unmarried youths out of school. This indication of some degree of social isolation among out-of-school youths points to an additional handicap among those who have deferred marriage due to the difficulty of becoming established in a life work under depression conditions.

## METHODOLOGICAL EVALUATION

Increased comparability of data in studies of youth is desirable in view of the present handicaps to synthesis of such research. The factual studies which have been made have been quite valuable as empirical guides for action programs in local areas; other similar studies, i.e., monographic surveys, will unquestionably continue to be useful. However, the majority of existing studies have concentrated upon the collection of isolated facts without adequate conceptualization of the problems to be investigated. As a result, they have contributed little to the testing of hypotheses or to the advancement of systematic sociological

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> There are some data which indicate that, at least up to age 25, there is no curtailment of extrafamily social participations. The institutionalization of activities and the narrowing of interests and contacts will vary according to the degree of rigidity and secularization in community controls. On the function of youth in plurality patterns, see L. Von Weise, *Systematic Sociology*, tr. by H. Becker (New York, 1932), pp. 151, 388.

<sup>53</sup> Also shown by F. Boyd, M. Oyler, and W. D. Nichols, *Rural Organization Contacts in Three Kentucky Communities*, Kentucky AESB 350 (Lexington, 1934).

knowledge. It seems clear that enough has been done along these lines to call for an inventory of the results achieved and for an attempt to orient youth studies somewhat more specifically toward the end of contributions to the body of sociological generalizations.

In itself, the differentiation of a "youth group" is part of a characteristic culture pattern of interaction between generations. Every category of sociological research is applicable in some degree to the study of youth: the justification for focusing studies of socioeconomic status, social participation, leisure-time activities, attitudes and interests, institutional influences, and so on, upon this particular age segment is to be found in a conception of the study of the person *sui generis* as he passes through the stages of life in a given culture. The strategic importance of research on youth at the present time lies in the fact that in periods of rapid social change the youth group is the focus of tensions in the social order. It has been said that we will probably be unable to ascertain the deeper effects of the depression upon group attitudes and modes of life for another twenty years or more. Certainly, one of the critical indices of change must be the interaction of youths in this period of transition.

Others have indicated the scope of research on rural youth which is now needed.<sup>54</sup> In addition to the types of studies which have been proposed, it is suggested that an opportunity exists for research under such major headings as the following:

1. Institutional influences and relations, i.e., studies which would measure the influence of specific institutional activities and values and would define the place of the youth group in these institutions.
2. Developmental studies which would emphasize changes in social rôle and personality characteristics at various ages.
3. Special studies designed to indicate the status and needs of particular racial, social class, and regional groups.
4. Studies of social movements among youths, including types of organizations and leadership, ideologies and propaganda techniques, factors affecting growth of specific types of movements, and relation of social movements to personality characteristics.

<sup>54</sup> Melvin, "Scope of Research on Rural Youth Needed Today," *Social Forces*, XV (October, 1936), 55-58; Dwight Sanderson, *Research Memorandum on Rural Life in the Depression*, SSRC Bulletin 34 (New York, 1937).

# State Police in a Rural Area

*Marshall E. Jones\**

## ABSTRACT

An investigation of the activities of Troop B of the Massachusetts State Police in a rural area indicates that a significant percentage of the crimes committed in that area are committed by "migrant" criminals, that is, those either not resident in the area at all or not resident in the town in which the crime occurs. When the area of authority and control coincides with, or is larger than, the area of residence of the criminals, efficient crime control is possible. Centralization of control in any organization, if it leads to a coincidence of the area of operations and the area of authority, may lead to a crystallization of relationships in those areas which in turn may promote efficiency of operation.

Massachusetts has had a state police force of one kind or another since 1865 when a state constabulary with general police powers throughout the state was established. Varying in size and in function, it nonetheless maintained a continuity of existence and method as state constabulary from 1865 to 1875; as state detective force, from 1875 to 1880; as district police, from 1880 to 1919; and as state police force, from 1919 to the present time. The present force may be said to date from the general reorganization of state government in Massachusetts about 1919-20. The specific purpose of the reorganization as it related to the state police was the provision of adequate police protection to the rural areas of the state in which local government had "broken down" because of "depopulation" with the result that rural residents suffered from incursions of urban criminals in automobiles.<sup>1</sup> In line with this original purpose, the Massachusetts state police force confines its work, except in rare instances, to the rural areas, though it has state-wide jurisdiction and the legal right to operate in cities also.

The present study concerns itself with the activities of Troop B only of the state police whose patrol area covers the four western counties of the state, a region which bore a very bad reputation for crime at the turn of the century. Attention was called to the prevalence of murder and other serious crimes which went unpunished, as well as a general

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<sup>1</sup> House Document 539, *Massachusetts Legislative Documents* for the year 1917, p. 17.

condition of rowdiness and disorder.<sup>2</sup> Inexperienced, part-time, elective constables and sheriffs subject to local influences and prejudices were the only police officers.

Following are recent population statistics for the four counties:

TABLE 1  
POPULATION AND DENSITY, TROOP B AREA

County	Population		Area Sq. Mi.	Density 1930
	U. S. Census 1930	Mass. Census 1935		
Berkshire.....	120,700	121,099	966	124.9
Franklin.....	49,612	51,043	697	71.2
Hampden.....	335,496	333,495	636	527.5
Hampshire.....	72,801	74,205	585	124.4
Whole Area.....	578,609	579,842	2,884	201.0

There is one city of about 150,000 people; three approximating 50,000; four between 25,000 and 10,000; with the remaining ninety towns of less than 10,000 population.

Without going into detail, we may note that in general the characteristics of a rural area as noted by Sorokin and Zimmerman apply to Troop B territory.<sup>3</sup>

#### TROOP B OF THE STATE POLICE

Troop B is one of the four troops of the Massachusetts State Police. It has a headquarters building located almost in the exact center of the area with five substations at strategic points. Headquarters provides radio broadcasting equipment, finger-print and photography sections, teletype service, and direct contact with the other troops of the force. For the year 1936 there was a monthly average of forty-six officers available for duty, with about sixteen assigned to special work, leaving an average of thirty for general patrol and detective work throughout the entire area. For a typical month, there were twenty-one men at headquarters and eight at each of the substations, those at headquarters including one Lieutenant, five Sergeants, and a female Special Officer.

<sup>2</sup> Waldo N. Cook, "Murders in Massachusetts," *Publications of the American Statistical Association*, III (1892-93), 357-78.

<sup>3</sup> Pitirim Sorokin and Carle C. Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology* (New York, 1929), p. 56.

To cover the territory, patrol routes are established in the usual manner with men assigned to the patrols in cruiser cars or on motorcycles. Because of shortage of men, however, it is often necessary to assign patrolmen from the patrol routes to special investigations, so that there is little regularity of patrol.

Although the state police have jurisdiction in all cities and towns located in the area, they do not operate in towns having adequate local forces, except at the request of the local officials or in unusual circumstances such as gambling raids or gross negligence of local officers. If routine investigations or arrests are necessary in a town having a local force, the state officers as a matter of courtesy ask the "assistance" of the local force.

The methods of the state police differ in some details from those of the local, particularly urban, police chiefly because of the differing environments in which the two forces operate.<sup>4</sup> The local police work in a compact area in which it is relatively easy to know local criminals, some of whom will act as informers either for money or for a promise of immunity if they are apprehended in petty crime. Even though these informers are usually petty criminals, they associate with more powerful criminals, or they frequent places in which criminals foregather so that they are able to supply the police with information. Thus, when a crime is committed by a criminal from a distant point, the local informers can usually pick up information concerning him and pass it on to the authorities. Police work then becomes only a matter of picking up the individual wanted and proving that he committed the crime. Even without the services of informers, city forces usually know where criminals meet and can watch those places for wanted men. Further, city police have more men available for concentration of effort on a single investigation than the state police have. True, city police deal with a larger population than the state police, usually, and so need more men. But the point is that they have the men to assign when intensive work on a particular investigation is necessary. Note that we are not saying this whole method is better or worse than that of the state police. We are saying only that it is different.

<sup>4</sup> Judge Paul G. Kirk, until recently Massachusetts Commissioner of Public Safety and head of the State Police, gave the writer carte blanche to examine all the records of the force, to talk freely with the officers and men, and to be present at any investigations, to gather material for a history of the state police. Material in the present paper from this point on was gathered from state police records, from personal observation, and from conversations with the officers.



The state police work in a large and sparsely populated area. There are no gathering places for criminals in rural sections comparable to those in the cities. Many offenses in the rural areas are committed by semi-amateurs in crime who have no great police record and who are not therefore obvious suspects. Since there are no gathering-places for criminals and few professional criminals, there are no informers; also the practice of buying information is discouraged by the state police. The information they get is from two sources: first, from many ordinary individuals in the community who co-operate with the state police for their own protection from criminal depredations and (a very important point) who know that their information will be treated confidentially; and second, from digging away at long-time leads as they develop. In one investigation, every family living along a cross-country bus route was interviewed to determine what seemed a minor point. In another case, a relatively unimportant one of selling liquor without a license, the officers drove out a snow-covered road until the drifts made further progress impossible; then hired a sleigh to go as far as the horse could carry them, and then took to snow shoes. They reached their man but could not prove that he had sold the bottle of liquor which had been brought to them until they found a mail order catalogue with a torn page, the tear exactly matching paper wrapped around the bottle cork. This was an example of hard work, determination, and cleverness in the prosecution of a case which many officers would think might well wait until the snow was off the ground. The point here is not to praise the state police but simply to emphasize that, working in a rural area, they must have the combination of hard work, determination, and cleverness in order to do their work or it will not be done at all.

#### THE ACTIVITIES OF TROOP B

We have thus far indicated in a general way the rural area in which Troop B works, its numbers, equipment, and methods. Our next point is the consideration of what the officers are doing in the area. As a first step in such consideration we may note the following summary of activities:

TABLE 2

SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES, TROOP B, DECEMBER 1, 1935-SEPTEMBER 1, 1937

<i>Item</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Monthly Average</i>
1. Investigations.....	5,160	241
2. Arrests.....	5,354	252
3. Complaints.....	5,384	253
4. Miles Traveled.....	820,448	39,069

Analyzing in some detail *Items 1, 2 and 3* in the above table, we note that certain offenses predominate. Most numerous is the group listed under "Traffic" and including speeding, dangerous driving, improper registration of automobiles, and improper licensing of drivers with other violations of the road laws. In this study we omit this group entirely and deal only with offenses other than traffic offenses. There are several reasons for so doing. First, inclusion of traffic offenses would tend to raise the factor of mobility of offenders in relation to the rural area, since traffic offenders involve *ipso facto* the driving of an automobile. Again, traffic work, while it is generally performed by the state police and takes up a good proportion of their time, is regarded in a sense as a necessary evil, since it removes officers from other and more necessary investigations of serious offenses. State police patrolmen have all been trained as criminal investigators. Traffic work, because of its routine nature, can be done by men who have had no such training. Finally, the people who violate the traffic laws cannot be considered criminals. They are not provoked by criminal intent, but rather by a lack of good sense. Omission of traffic offenses, therefore, will not greatly affect any study of the problem of criminality in rural areas.

Leaving aside, then, the traffic violations, we find the following offenses occurring in B territory during the period studied:

TABLE 3

OFFENSES OCCURRING IN B TERRITORY DECEMBER 1, 1935-OCTOBER 18, 1936

<i>Offense</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage of Total</i>
1. Against the person.....	90	7.3
2. Against property, with violence.....	56	4.5
3. Against property, without violence.....	203	16.5
4. Against property, with malicious injury.....	25	2.4
5. Infraction of forgery and currency laws.....	4	.4
6. Infraction of license laws.....	4	.4
7. Infraction of morals laws.....	85	6.9
8. Violation of the public order.....	104	8.5
9. Infraction of liquor selling laws.....	11	.9
10. Drunkenness and vagrancy.....	644	51.5
TOTAL.....	1,226	100.0

It will be noted that this sample includes about ten months only. The number of cases listed was considered a sufficient sample for the present study after checks starting at 800 cases demonstrated that the addition of 100 new cases did not materially alter the proportion of offenses in each category.

*Item 10*, arrests for drunkenness and vagrancy, accounts for slightly more than one half of the total number of offenses committed. While these infractions may not in themselves be serious, arrests involved are considered important because they are preventive in nature. They prevent harm to the offenders by removing them from the danger of injury or, in some cases, of freezing or starving to death. They also tend to prevent the occurrence of more serious offenses, since persons under the influence of liquor are likely to take part in assaults of various kinds, larcenies, and other crimes. Again, many of the vagrants are habitual criminals and reference to state and federal authorities often reveals men wanted for serious offenses in other parts of the country.

Next in order of frequency are offenses against property, *Items 2, 3*, and *4* in Table 3. *Item 2* includes offenses in which there is forcible entry into a building; *Item 3* includes thefts without forcible entry; and *Item 4* includes those offenses against property which are committed from a motive other than gain, usually revenge. The table indicates that offenses against property of all types make up one fourth of all offenses listed.

*Item 1*, offenses against the person, includes crimes such as assault and battery, manslaughter, and murder. In the sample studied, all of these were simple assault and battery except five cases of armed robbery.

*Item 8*, offenses against public order, is in this sample made up entirely of disturbances caused by fighting or other boisterous conduct in a public place. There were no strike-riot cases involved.

The others items in the table are self explanatory. It should be noted that these are not all of the offenses committed in the territory during the time specified. They are only those offenses for which the state police prosecuted the offenders. Offenses not known to the state police and offenses not prosecuted, for whatever reason, are not included.

#### MIGRATION OF OFFENDERS

We are interested in this paper not only in what the state police are doing, but in the offenders with whom they deal, particularly from the viewpoint of movement of offenders from one community to another for the purpose of committing crime. We note that the 1917 Commission<sup>5</sup> suggested that rural crimes were committed by urban criminals who returned to their urban places of residence and were "lost to the

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Note 1, page 1.

law." It is not only a question, however, of urban-rural migration. Inter-community migration of offenders, whether from urban to rural or the reverse, is also a factor of importance in police work. If most of the offenders are local residents it would seem logical that a local force should cope with them. If the reverse is true, it would seem logical that a larger-than-local force would be necessary.

We consider first the migration of offenders from outside B area into the area:

**TABLE 4**  
**PERCENTAGE OF EACH TYPE OF OFFENSE COMMITTED BY RESIDENTS AND NONRESIDENTS OF B AREA**

<i>Offense</i>	<i>B-residents</i>	<i>Non B-residents</i>
1. Against the person.....	87.7	12.3
2. Against property, with violence.....	66.0	34.0
3. Against property, without violence.....	64.5	35.5
4. Against property, with malicious intent.....	96.0	4.0
5. Infraction of morals laws.....	92.0	8.0
6. Violation of the public order.....	85.5	14.5
7. Drunkenness and vagrancy.....	78.5	21.5
ALL OFFENCES.....	78.0	22.0

We may fairly say that slightly less than one fourth of the offenders lived outside B area. While this is not a large percentage, an examination of the table from the viewpoint of seriousness of offense reveals that migrants from outside B area account for an unduly large proportion of the more serious offenses. Thus, offenses against property, *Items 2 and 3* in the table, give slightly more than one third of non B-residents, as against one fourth of non B-residents for all offenses. To put it another way, the frequency of commission of offenses against property among migrants is about three times the frequency of less serious offenses committed by the same group with the exception of *Items 6 and 7*, where the frequency of more serious crimes is about twice that of the less serious. It seems fair to say that migrants into B territory are not predominantly drunkards and vagrants but are individuals with more serious criminal intent.

In addition to the question of migration into B territory, there is for further consideration the factor of migration from town to town within B territory. The following table indicates the situation with respect to town-to-town migration within B area.

TABLE 5

PERCENTAGE OF EACH TYPE OF OFFENSE COMMITTED BY RESIDENTS AND  
NONRESIDENTS OF THE TOWN IN WHICH THE CRIME WAS  
COMMITTED WITHIN B AREA

<i>Offense</i>	<i>Residents</i>	<i>Nonresidents</i>
1. Against the person.....	65.0	35.0
2. Against property.....	27.0	73.0
3. Infraction of the morals laws.....	70.0	30.0
4. Violation of the public order.....	57.0	43.0
5. Drunkenness and vagrancy.....	38.0	62.0
ALL OFFENCES.....	42.0	58.0

It will be noted that the proportion of crimes committed by nonresidents of the town in which the crime occurred is high for all categories, roughly three fifths. It is especially high, however, for offenses against property, *Item 2*, in which it reaches three fourths for nonresidents, even with the inclusion of malicious injury to property. Obviously the residents of a community may be themselves relatively law-abiding, yet may suffer from attacks of migrant criminals. From the viewpoint of police practice this raises the question of the ability of a purely local force to deal adequately with the crime problem. From the viewpoint of practical government it raises the question of whether local jurisdictions should be burdened with police costs needed largely for migrant criminals. Finally, from the larger viewpoint of the relationships between local autonomy and centralized control, it raises the question of the benefits of centralized control as against its harmful aspects.

#### URBAN-RURAL MIGRATION

A special aspect of the general movement of offenders is that which takes place from the cities to the rural sections for purposes of crime commission. It has been noted earlier that the state police operate in the rural sections of their territory only, specifically avoiding those larger centers of population which maintain adequate local forces. If there were no migration of offenders at all, the state police would be dealing with rural residents only. Since there is migration, the question arises as to what proportion of the offenses are committed by residents of urban sections, and what proportion by residents of rural sections. We repeat, any residents of urban sections are *ipso facto* migrants because the state police do not operate in urban areas.



The following table indicates the rural-urban proportions for residents and nonresidents of B area in the present sample:

TABLE 6  
PERCENTAGE OF EACH TYPE OF OFFENSE COMMITTED BY RURAL AND URBAN  
RESIDENTS AND NONRESIDENTS OF B AREA\*

Offense	Residents		Nonresidents	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
1. Against the person.....	60.0	27.8	1.1	11.1
2. Against property, with violence.....	17.0	50.0	8.0	25.0
3. Against property, without violence.....	28.2	35.2	4.8	31.8
4. Against property, with malicious intent.....	92.0	4.0	.0	4.0
5. Infraction of morals laws.....	61.2	30.5	.0	8.3
6. Violation of the public order.....	53.7	31.6	.0	14.7
7. Drunkenness and vagrancy.....	48.0	30.3	5.0	16.7
ALL OFFENCES.....	46.7	31.3	3.8	18.2

\*The distinction between rural and urban areas is made on the basis of whether the population is above or below 2,500, with the added consideration of whether or not the principal occupation of the inhabitants is farming. The township of Hadley, for example, has a population of about 2,700, but is counted as rural because practically the only occupation is farming.

In examining this table, we consider first only offenders resident in B territory: The total indicates that urban residents account for 31.3% of all offenses listed. Other computations show that 28.7% of these urban residents come from ten of the cities of more than 10,000 population each. But since the population of these ten cities is 68% of the total population of B area, a contribution of 31.3% of offenders does not seem abnormally large. If, however, we consider the offenses from the viewpoint of seriousness, we find that the picture is somewhat changed. For we discover that 31.3% of urban residents account for 50% of the offenses committed against property with violence, and for 35% of offenses against property without violence. Aside from these two more serious categories we find urban residents of B territory committing almost one third of the offenses. Since all of the offenses occurred within the rural sections of B territory we have an indication of the migration of offenders from city to country within that area.

Turning to offenders living outside B territory we find that 18% come from urban sections. Once again the urban offenders contribute more than their proportionate share to property offenses.

If we take both residents and nonresidents of B area, the whole group of offenders considered from the urban-rural viewpoint, we find that offenders from urban areas contribute almost exactly one half the total

of offenders. They account for three fourth of the offenses against property committed with violence, and for two thirds of the offenses against property committed without violence. They give slightly under one half for offenses against public order, and a similar proportion of drunkenness and vagrancy offenses. Their share of offenses against the person and involving morals laws is about one third.

The implications of these tables for rural police work are obvious. The state police are dealing, in one half their cases, with offenders who do not live in areas ordinarily patrolled by the state police. Since the state police are, in effect, a rural force, local rural forces would be faced with this same problem if there were no state police. In other words, the local rural community would have to equip itself to deal with large numbers of non-local, urban criminals if the centrally controlled police organization did not exist. If local forces were the only means of police protection, some readjustment of jurisdictional rights would be necessary because of the mobility of criminals. Larger forces, with better technical equipment would be necessary. This would mean more expense with consequent higher taxation. Further, if one or more local communities refused to co-operate, the whole plan would fall through. There is no question that the state police system is cheaper; it is more efficient because of its centralized control of personnel, of training, and of equipment; and it avoids entirely any question of jurisdiction.

#### CENTRALIZATION VERSUS LOCAL AUTONOMY

What are the implications of this study for a general theory of centralized versus local government? The following tentative propositions may be made:

1. The development of centralized control of the police force for rural areas in Massachusetts was a *development*, and not an arbitrary imposition of an unwelcome arm of the central government. The basis for its evaluation, and for the evaluation of other centrally controlled governmental organizations, should be its efficiency in performing stipulated duties. Too often the only basis for evaluation is the feeling-tone inherent in such words as "bureaucracy," "regimentation," and "individualism."

2. Centralized control of executive organizations will lead to an efficient performance of duties where the duties to be performed are clearly and factually stated. This is the case with the state police.

3. Centralization of control tends towards a crystallization of relationships and a codification of individual rights and duties. In other words, centralization, once introduced, tends to maintain and increase that system of stipulated rights and duties in which it works most efficiently.<sup>6</sup>

4. The present trend is, we are assured, towards a general centralization of control in government. In view of the tendency noted just above, we may expect, if the trend continues, a more general crystallization of relationships throughout that part of the social organization affected by government. This would be considered most unfortunate by many people as inhibiting the freedom of the individual. On the other hand, Professor Sorokin<sup>7</sup> finds that *lack* of crystallization in social relationships is a "neglected factor of war." Again, the individual is not free from control under a decentralized system of government since he is subject to the restraints and influences of mores, customs, propaganda, often working under cover. Centralization might only make explicit controls which are now implicit.

5. If centralization works efficiently and without harmful effects in the case of the state police we must either admit that it will work well in all branches of the government, or carefully delimit those branches in which it will not function, such delimitation to be on a factual basis not on a basis of feeling-tone.

<sup>6</sup> This statement is largely substantiated by the early history of the state police which had to be omitted from this paper.

<sup>7</sup> *A Neglected Factor of War*, a paper presented at the General Meeting of the American Sociological Society, 1937.

# The Sociology of Drought

*Allen D. Edwards\**

## ABSTRACT

This study of a drought area county in the Southern Great Plains attempts to analyze the effects of recurrent droughts on population, systems of farming, standard of living, community organization, public relief and assistance, and attitudes and opinions. A striking similarity of the effects of drought upon community life is apparent in a comparison of several drought periods. The general pattern of social changes during drought is summarized. An outstanding feature of the recent drought of 1932-36 has been the large amount of federal assistance which has served to stabilize the farming economy. Recommendations to avert the most disastrous effects of future droughts do not involve a complete shift from wheat growing but rather a better adaptation of this type of farming to the climate of the Great Plains along with increased diversification and greater emphasis on measures designed to control soil blowing.

This paper presents some results of a field study carried on in the Great Plains Area by the writer during the latter part of 1936.<sup>1</sup> Its purpose was to study and analyze the social effects of recurrent droughts.

Droughts differ from other types of disaster with respect to duration and area covered. An explosion happens in a moment; a shipwreck is a matter of hours at most; a flood may spread havoc for days or weeks; but a drought may continue through months or even years. Then too, many types of disaster are more or less limited in area, whereas a drought may extend over a large part of a nation and across national lines.

It was known that during the period of the eighteen nineties a series of dry years and a widespread economic depression caused heavy migration from the Great Plains counties, and that a similar combination of circumstances occasioned a like migration beginning in 1932. It was therefore decided to learn what counties in the Great Plains had most nearly repeated between 1930 and 1935 the experience of the 'nineties. A detailed study of secondary sources of information was made, and Haskell County, Kansas, together with nine other counties in the Great

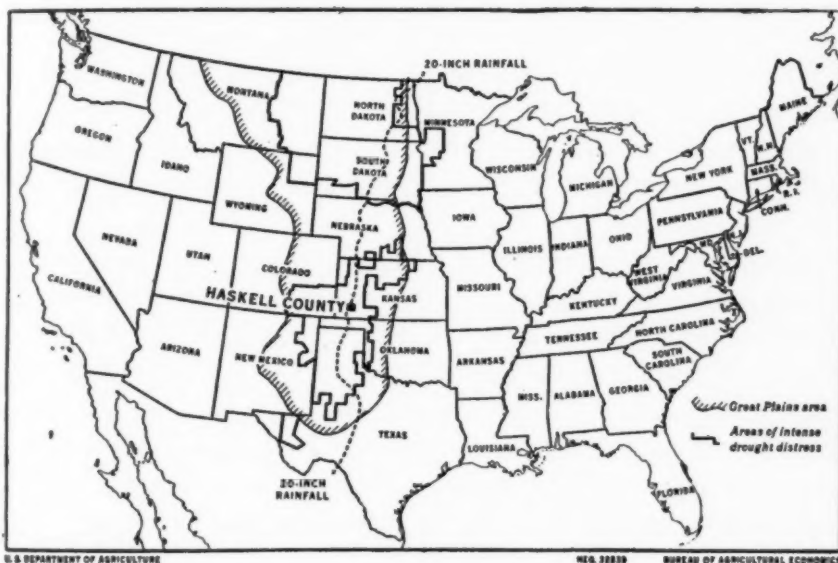
<sup>1</sup> A. D. Edwards, *Effect of Drought and Depression on a Rural Community: A Case Study of Haskell County, Kansas*, FSA SRR VII (Washington, 1938). This study was also submitted as a doctoral thesis at Duke University.

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Plains, were selected for further study before the field work began. Haskell County was selected as the sample county because it had been subject to the effects of recurrent droughts since its settlement and was a purely agricultural county, and therefore not complicated by oil, mineral, or industrial developments. It is located in the Winter Wheat Area of southwestern Kansas and was in the officially designated drought areas of 1934 and 1936. The Soil Conservation Service classified it as a district of severe wind erosion, and the Works Progress Administration in a recent study of drought intensity<sup>2</sup> included it as "an area of intense drought distress." (Figure 1.)

FIGURE 1

LOCATION OF HASKELL COUNTY, KANSAS, IN RELATION TO THE TWENTY-  
INCH RAINFALL LINE, THE GREAT PLAINS, AND "AREAS OF INTENSE  
DROUGHT DISTRESS"



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The period covered in this study is the fifty-three years subsequent to the arrival of the first settlers in the area which is now Haskell County. Adjustments of people to land and to social institutions were less secure than in more settled communities, and hence they were more susceptible to the effects of drought. Similarly, the people were better able to with-

<sup>2</sup> F. D. Cronin and H. W. Beers, *Areas of Intense Drought Distress*, WPA Division of Social Research Publication Series 5, No. 1 (Washington, 1937).



stand the effects of drought during more recent years than immediately following settlement.

#### POPULATION

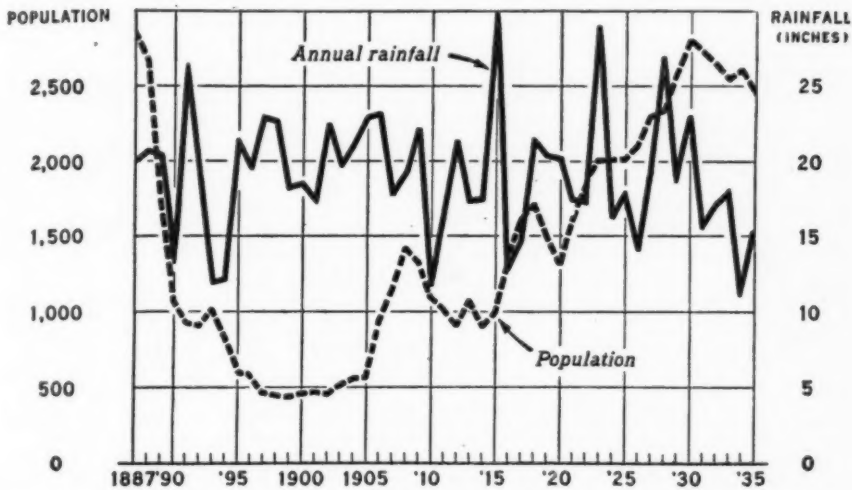
The settlement of Haskell County, Kansas, was a part of the westward movement of the population that reached the fringe of the Great Plains about 1870. The first settlers in this district arrived in 1885 and the county was organized in 1887. By the end of that two-year period nearly all public land had been occupied, dugouts and sod houses dotted the plains, and mushroom towns had sprung up in anticipation of a dense farm population. Here, in contrast to other parts of the Great Plains, there were no cattle ranches to be displaced, for the lack of sufficient surface water had hitherto prevented such enterprises.

The first settlers were mainly from Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Missouri, and Iowa, but a few of them came from Germany, England, and Ireland. None of the farm operators enumerated in 1895, and only four of those listed in 1905, were born in Kansas. Native Kansans comprised one fourth of all newcomers to the county enumerated in 1915, and one third in 1925. The present population is comparatively homogeneous except for two settlements of Mennonites, who, since the arrival of the first group in 1916, have maintained a fairly distinct cultural and social group life.

The population has tended to increase during periods of favorable weather and to decrease during droughts. Since the settlement of the county, marked deficiencies in rainfall have occurred in 1887, 1889, 1893-97, 1899-1901, 1907-08, 1910-11, 1913, 1916-17, 1924, 1926, and 1932-36. (Figure 2.) Droughts which occurred soon after settlement resulted in extreme fluctuations in the size of population; many of the settlers had only scanty resources and were unable to withstand even a single crop failure. As the settlers became more firmly established they were better able to withstand the effects of dry years. During the severe drought of 1893-97, many were able to withstand its effects for one or two years, but the continued dry weather forced most of them to leave, and resulted in widespread social disorganization. The recent drought of 1932-36, comparable to that of 1893-97 in duration and severity, showed less marked fluctuations in the size of population. It cannot be denied, however, that substantial public assistance during the latter period played an important part in maintaining what stability there was.

FIGURE 2

POPULATION OF HASKELL COUNTY, KANSAS, AND ANNUAL RAINFALL FOR THE WESTERN DIVISION OF KANSAS, 1887-1935



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Sources: Population Data from Biennial Reports of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture. Rainfall Data from U. S. Weather Bureau Report: "Climatic Summary of the U. S., 1887-1930."

Some single persons, both men and women, filed on homesteads but the early settlers of the county were chiefly families who took up claims for the purpose of establishing homes. The proportion of males to females has been consistently high, the ratio for the county varying as follows: 1890, 111 males per 100 females; 1900, 124; 1910, 131; 1920, 114; 1930, 121. Among persons fifteen years of age and over, the ratio of males to 100 females was 125 in 1930, but the ratio of single males to single females was 229; whereas the ratio for the state of Kansas was 140, and for the United States, 132. This relative scarcity of marriageable women in the county is characteristic of pioneer or recently settled communities.

In 1930, age groups made up of persons under forty-five years of age included a larger percentage of the total population in Haskell County than of that in the state as a whole, while the opposite was true of the age groups composed of persons forty-five years of age and over (Table 1). This situation was largely the result of the steady increase in population from 1905 to 1930. If a greater stability is achieved in the future, and this may be expected, the age distribution for the county will approach that for the entire state.

TABLE 1  
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION, HASKELL COUNTY AND STATE OF  
KANSAS, 1930

ITEM	Population	Percentage in each age group						
		Under 5	5-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-64	65 and over
<i>Total population:</i>								
Kansas.....	1,880,999	9	20	18	15	13	18	7
Haskell County.....	2,805	13	24	19	16	14	11	3
<i>Rural farm population:</i>								
Kansas.....	704,601	10	23	18	13	13	18	5
Haskell County.....	1,752	14	25	19	15	14	11	2
<i>Rural nonfarm population:</i>								
Kansas.....	446,564	9	18	17	15	13	19	9
Haskell County.....	1,053	12	20	19	18	14	12	5

Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Population, III.

As no village in the county has as many as 2,500 residents, the total population is classified as rural in the United States Census of Population. In 1930 about 42 per cent, or 1,181 of the 2,805 persons reported in the Census, lived in the villages of Sublette and Satanta. This proportion of village residents appears relatively high for an agricultural community, but it is not unusual in this area. The fact that about one out of seven of the farmers lives in one or the other of the villages, and a number of the business men and local officials operate farms partially explains this. As the wheat crop is worked during only a small part of the year, a village residence and other occupations are possible along with wheat farming.

A highly mobile population has been characteristic of the county during its entire development. Immigration has been most conspicuous during periods of favorable weather, and emigration during droughts; these movements, as it has already been noted, result in extreme fluctuations in the size of population. A more detailed analysis shows that while immigration has been characteristic mainly of more prosperous years, emigration has been characteristic of humid years as well as dry. During years of favorable weather, however, this outward movement has been obscured by the inrush of new settlers.

With the farm operators enumerated in 1895 as a base, 40 per cent are found to persist at the end of a decade.<sup>3</sup> When the farm operators

<sup>3</sup> Persistence means that the farm operator or a male descendant is still farming in the county.

reported in 1905 are used as a base, 39 per cent persist after ten years, and when those for 1915, 1920, and 1925 are considered, 44, 41, and 42 per cent respectively are present in the county ten years later (Table 2).

TABLE 2  
PERSISTENCE OF FARM OPERATORS IN HASKELL COUNTY, KANSAS,  
1895-1935

Year	Number of Cases	Percentage						
		1895	1905	1915	1920	1925	1930	1935
1895	139	100	40	22	14	13	8	7
1905	132		100	39	26	31	15	11
1915	192			100	49	44	28	23
1920	286				100	66	41	40
1925	360					100	57	42
1930	461						100	64
1935	429							100

Data for 1895-1920 from Kansas State Census Schedules.

Data for 1925-1935 from U. S. Census of Agriculture Schedules.

The lack of tendency toward stabilization, at least before 1930, can be understood only in the light of the development of the county. The first census for which we have records, that of 1895, was taken at a time when the first wave of resettlement had receded, leaving only a picked few of the early settlers. After 1905 population increased to such an extent that a large proportion of the total farm operators were newcomers, the numbers being as follows: 73 in 1905; 131 in 1915; 181 in 1920; 152 in 1925; 200 in 1930; but only 72 in 1935. These newcomers had a consistently lower rate of persistence than old resident farm operators, and this largely accounts for the high rate of turnover.

Although turnover was consistently high when measured by ten-year intervals, analysis of the data beginning in 1915 shows that there were differences for five-year periods. The persistence of operators was relatively high between 1920 and 1925 and between 1930 and 1935, while the period 1925-30 was characterized by greater mobility. Data on this point, although not conclusive, point to the hypothesis that a highly prosperous boom period shows greater instability than periods of either drought or medium prosperity.

The high degree of mobility and extreme fluctuations in the size of population in Haskell County cannot be considered abnormal when compared with older communities in Kansas at a corresponding state

of development. These, too, were characterized by a high rate of turnover during their early history.<sup>4</sup>

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE OF FARM OPERATORS REPORTING SPECIFIED ITEMS, AND AVERAGES FOR THOSE REPORTING, HASKELL COUNTY, KANSAS, 1895-1935

Years	Number of operators reporting	Average size of farm in acres	Percentage reporting					Averages for those reporting				
			Winter wheat acreage	Milk Cows	Other Cattle	Hogs	Poultry	Winter wheat acreage	Milk Cows	Other Cattle	Hogs	Poultry
1895	125	234	73	70	35	32	30	89	3	12	2	18
1905	132	1238	51	74	81	57	35	51	4	64	3	37
1915	191	620	42	49	58	33	†	113	5	36	7	†
1925	360	683	85	73*	77	60	77	230‡	5	28	11	108
1930	461	672	89	51*	53	39	63	468‡	3	11	12	104
1935	429	692	65	70*	64	38	74	198‡	5	11	8	99

Special Tabulation, Kansas State Census Schedules—1895-1915.

Special Tabulation, United States Census of Agriculture—1925-1935.

\*Number of cows milked.

†No data.

‡Acres of wheat harvested.

### AGRICULTURE

Three systems of farming have been attempted in Haskell County, Kansas: (1) small-scale agriculture, 1885-1900; (2) cattle ranching and stock farming, 1901-15; and (3) wheat farming since 1916. The first settlers attempted to establish a small scale farming economy. Although the area is manifestly unsuited to intensive operations, the crop yields of favorable years apparently warranted such a development. Moreover, the settlers were greatly influenced by a fallacious doctrine that plowing up the land would immediately increase the rainfall. A succession of humid years preceding and during the settlement of the county tended to lend credence to this theory.

There has been a consistent attempt to farm the land more intensively during all periods of favorable rainfall. The main changes in systems of farming from small scale intensive units to cattle raising and later to wheat growing are reflected in Table 3. The first attempt at small scale

<sup>4</sup> James C. Malin, "The Turnover of Farm Population in Kansas, 1860-1935," *Kansas State Historical Quarterly*, IV (November, 1935), 339-72.



agriculture ended in failure during the drought of 1893-97. Those who remained adjusted their farming practices by depending to a greater extent on cattle raising. The retreat of the settlers left large areas of vacant land which was soon occupied by cattle ranchers with the return of more humid weather. Cattle ranching and stock farming were interrupted by another wave of homesteaders centering about 1905-06. These new settlers also attempted small-scale farming and many left during the dry years of 1907-08 or 1910-11. Ranchers and farmers with longer experience in the county averted the most disastrous effects of the drought by practicing a type of agriculture that combined the cultivation of crops and the maintenance of at least a small herd of cattle.

Cattle raising and stock farming, though well adapted to the agricultural resources of the area, were superceded during the nineteen twenties by wheat farming—a more intensive use of the land. The demand for wheat during and following the World War, the completion of the railroad through the county in 1912, and the introduction of power machinery especially adapted to conditions on the Great Plains, coincided with a period of favorable weather to bring about a rapid development of wheat growing. By 1930 nearly all arable land had been broken up and planted in wheat.

Low prices for wheat in 1931 followed by crop failures for the years 1932-36 created a major crisis in the history of the county and again readjustments in farming were necessary. These changes were in the direction of greater self-sufficiency and in the expansion of livestock enterprises, but they have not been so great as might have been expected from a drought of this degree of severity. Federal subsidies which have enabled farmers to continue planting wheat in spite of crop failures have had a stabilizing effect.

#### STANDARD OF LIVING

The first settlers of Haskell County lacked many comforts to which they had been accustomed in their previous homes. The self-sufficiency of their agricultural economy could provide them with only the barest necessities, but they endured the dugouts or sod houses and the other hardships of pioneer life because of their eagerness to obtain the free land. Improvements in standard of living occurred during periods of favorable rainfall but were interrupted from time to time by droughts. The most rapid rise in family living budgets occurred between 1920 and 1930, a period of great prosperity accompanying the development of

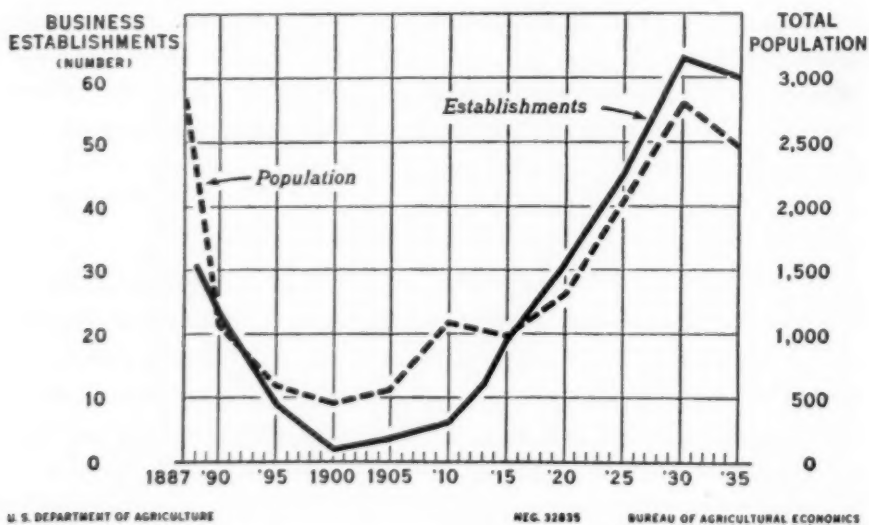
wheat farming. There was an urgent need for assistance in the early 1930's because of the low wheat prices in 1931 and the subsequent drought. Federal subsidies have directly or indirectly comprised a major source of income for nearly all families in the county since 1933 and have been chiefly responsible for the fact that most of the residents have been able to remain there without suffering greatly from lack of food or clothing.

#### COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

The pattern of early settlement was that of family farms surrounding small villages. Isolated farmsteads developed at first because of the provision of the settlement laws which required dwellings on each homestead of 160 acres. The settlers tended to idealize the patterns of social life familiar to them in other communities and strove to duplicate them in the new environment. During periods of prosperity they made great progress in acquiring both the forms and the material elements of the social organization to which they were accustomed, but droughts had a retarding effect. Drastic changes in size of population are reflected in the decreasing number of business establishments (Figure 3).

FIGURE 3

NUMBER OF BUSINESS ESTABLISHMENTS AND TOTAL POPULATION,  
HASKELL COUNTY, KANSAS, 1887-1935



Sources: Dun and Bradstreet, Directory of Business Establishments. Population Data from Biennial Reports of Kansas State Board of Agriculture.

During the drought of 1893-97, the county seat was reduced from a thriving village to a single store and a few dwellings, while in the open country the depopulation of large areas in the county completely obliterated the small country stores that had served as postoffices and trading centers during the early settlement.

The loss of population was a severe blow to the schools. The number of school districts declined from thirty-four to thirty-three between 1890 and 1895, but by 1900 had been reduced to thirteen. The school term was shortened to an average of thirteen weeks in 1895 where five years earlier it had been as much as twenty-five weeks. In 1897-98 the term was five months in Santa Fe, but was even shorter in the country districts. Although the population had declined to less than 500 by 1900, no change was made in the county boundaries. The number of townships, however, was reduced from nine to three by an act of the legislature in 1897.

The drought of 1932-36, in great contrast to that of 1893-97 affected formal community activities only slightly; in some respects these had become better organized. The explanation for this lies not only in the fact that the drought brought the people closer together by encouraging co-operative effort in meeting their problems, but largely in the extent and effectiveness of the government assistance that has been rendered.

As the problems arising from the depression, drought and subsequent dust storms, have been too great for the local government to handle, co-operation with larger units has been necessary. The functions of the county have altered and it has become, to a large extent, an instrument for the administration of state and national programs. Relief has been dispensed with the co-operation of the county commissioners and has required only a relatively slight adaptation of the local government. The farm programs, however, have been established outside the existing county setup and are not responsible to the local authorities. The Agricultural Adjustment Administration, Farm Credit Administration, and Rural Rehabilitation work directly with the farmer or with committees of farmers and not with the commissioners.

#### RELIEF AND ASSISTANCE

Assistance from public funds is not new in Haskell County, for it has been given from time to time to relieve distress. During both the recent and previous droughts such aid has been available to citizens not only through direct relief but through other means as well. Benefit payments

of recent years have their counterpart in payments made in 1889 when farmers were compensated for plowing their own land and all section lines were purchased as roads. In both instances, the primary object was to assist farmers in a way that would tend to maintain their morale. Practically no local relief was extended during the prolonged drought of 1893-97, for the county had exhausted its credit. Thus, there was nothing to halt the rapid emigration of settlers that resulted in the depopulation of large areas and in widespread social disorganization.

Since 1933 nearly all federal agencies have made larger contributions to the welfare of the people in the drought region than to those in other rural areas. Although the great bulk of federal expenditures, consisting of benefit payments, relief, and farm loans, were not specifically for drought relief, such aid was effective in stabilizing the farming economy on a higher level than would otherwise have been possible, judging by the series of events during the drought of 1893-97. Moreover, the cattle purchase program of 1934-35 and the drought feed loans of the same years were measures specifically designed to relieve drought distress among the farmers. These special appropriations were in addition to an extremely liberal policy in the granting of relief and making loans, and the fact that benefit payments per farmer were unusually high.

The disastrous consequences of extreme fluctuations, which have accompanied previous droughts, tend to justify federal subsidies to stabilize the economy, at least as an emergency measure. From the long-time point of view, the wisdom of continuing wheat growing in areas with the widest fluctuations in production might be questioned. A good crop frequently coincides with a bumper crop in the nation as a whole, thus swelling the surplus and depressing the price. At the present time there are no opportunities for farmers who might leave the Great Plains to engage in farming elsewhere or to obtain jobs in industry. Under conditions such as prevail at present, continued subsidy, if needed, and the disrupting effects of instability of production must be weighed against the cost of resettling the people elsewhere, of regrassing the land, and some estimate of the unwillingness of these people to move to other areas. Moreover, past experience indicates that moisture will be sufficient for a crop about every other year on the average and that farming is profitable on that basis. Since several dry years may occur in sequence, some means of distributing the income of good years over poor (i.e. crop insurance) may reasonably be expected to remove the need for federal subsidies in the future.

## ATTITUDES AND OPINIONS

The social psychology of people in the county has been influenced by recurrent droughts. As a rule, the persons attracted to Haskell County have been of an adventurous type; that is, they are willing to take risks whether by the adoption of new methods, gambling on crops, or undertaking public improvements. This characteristic has been reflected not so much in their attitude toward society—although individual action in the settlement of disputes has not been unusual—but rather in their ability to adapt themselves to a changing situation and to make decisions quickly. Throughout the history of the county, residents have been forced to make continual adjustments in order to survive.

The emotional character of people's reaction to drought has not only an immediate effect on personality but affects deep-seated attitudes. It has been observed that when there is a prospect for a crop during the next year, optimism is much greater than a rational judgment based upon known facts would seem to justify. This irrational optimism appears to be an emotional reaction to the tenseness and discouragement of dry periods. The ability to forget the past and look forward to an optimistic future seems to be almost essential to survival, although such a tendency also has serious disadvantages. Other influences noted include a greater tendency to fatalistic attitudes and a readiness to gamble on "making a killing on wheat" rather than diversifying.

## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The drought cycle tends to follow a definite sequence pattern<sup>5</sup> affecting every phase of community life:

(1) A period of disorganization follows the onset of each drought. This is marked by an effort to maintain the prevailing social organization, but there is uncertainty and hesitancy as to farm practices, crops, and the advisability of leaving the region. Income and expenditures are reduced, some residents leave either temporarily or permanently, and each farmer remaining in the area makes partial adjustments.

(2) The continuance of the drought over a period of years forces communities to make more drastic adjustments finally worked out by the

<sup>5</sup> Compare with Lowell J. Carr, "Sequence Pattern of Disaster," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXVIII (1932), 207-18; and S. H. Prince, *Catastrophe and Social Change*, Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, CCXII (New York, 1920).



individual families and by the community as a whole. They lead to a decrease in size of population, a decrease in the number of trade agencies, a lowered standard of living, a more self-sufficient and diversified farming, and a diminished emphasis on commercial forms of recreation. Assistance from local and federal sources has been an important factor in alleviating the consequences of drought or in failing to do so.

(3) The end of each extended dry period is followed by a readjustment to more favorable weather conditions. This phase has usually involved a period of relative prosperity and has at times amounted to a boom.

Suggestions for community planning to avert the most disastrous effects of future droughts include the following:

(1) Guidance in finding suitable locations in other areas for families who wish to leave, but no large-scale resettlement of those in the county.

(2) Continuance of wheat-growing as the principal farm enterprise, but more diversified farming to supply the family living and a cash income during dry years.

(3) A wider application of such practices as summer fallowing, contour farming, and other measures to conserve moisture and control soil blowing.

(4) Crop insurance.

(5) Greater co-ordination of efforts of federal agencies dealing with agriculture, and greater flexibility in the farm program to meet local needs.

(6) Revision of taxation and functions of local government.

(7) Introduction of agricultural training into the high schools, and consolidation of one-room country schools.

(8) Increase in the effectiveness of farm organizations in providing recreational contacts.

# The Altenteil: German Farmers' Old Age Security

H. W. Spiegel\*

## ABSTRACT

The *Altenteil* secures the maintenance of the old farmer on his own farm after it has passed to a son. The *Altenteil* is an anticipated inheritance which secures the transfer of the farm to one heir. The time of the transfer depends upon whether the farm is handed over to the eldest or another son. The rights of the retired farmer are very carefully specified in the *Altenteil* contract. From the economic point of view the *Altenteil* is probably a desirable institution since it secures the replacement of the farmer when he becomes too old to work profitably. However, the disadvantages of the institution outweigh its advantages. The small size of the farms, the uncertainty of the lifetime of the parents, and their dependency upon the successor are sources of permanent tension which profoundly threaten the peace of the family. This observation is verified by the deprecatory treatment of the *Altenteil* in folklore and novels.

The *Altenteil* is an institution which secures the maintenance of old farmers and their wives on the farm, it having passed to a son or to another relative who supplies the retired farmer with lodging and livelihood. The allowances, the lodging, the contract between the farmer and his son, and the institution have all the same name of *Altenteil*; there are, however, numerous other names, as *Leibzucht*, *Leibgedinge*, *Auszug*, *Ausgedinge*, etc., which all mean the same thing.

The *Altenteil* is an anticipated inheritance. The following table shows its frequency in several German regions, in Sweden, and in Austria.

Varieties of the institution can be found in many countries. They are in the United States, too, as Carl Wehrwein has shown.<sup>1</sup> This is, however, an exceptional case, for the *Altenteil* has originated from conditions different from those which prevail in the United States.

The *Altenteil* is an ancient institution. In the feudal era the undisturbed passing of the management to a new farmer was in the interest of the feudal lords who likewise commanded the transfer of the farm to one son. The *Altenteil* is, first of all, a means of retirement for the

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<sup>1</sup> C. F. Wehrwein, "Bonds of Maintenance as Aids in Acquiring Farm Ownership," *Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics*, VIII (1932), 396-403.

TABLE 1

FREQUENCY OF THE ALTENTEIL IN SEVERAL GERMAN REGIONS, IN SWEDEN,  
AND IN AUSTRIA

Country	Percentage Frequency
<i>Germany</i>	<i>of farm "inheritance" cases:</i>
Württemberg (1865-1934)*.....	60.0
Mecklenburg (before the war)†.....	56.0
Mecklenburg (after the war)†.....	43.0
<i>Sweden</i> ‡	<i>of all farm owners:</i>
(1870).....	21.2
(1900).....	14.4
(1920).....	8.4
<i>Austria</i>	<i>of all farm operators:</i>
(1895-96).....	3.1

## Sources:

\*P. Brugger, *Der Anerbe und das Schicksal seiner Geschwister*, Berichte über Landwirtschaft, new ser., spec. no. 121 (Berlin, 1936), p. 29.

†H. J. Seraphim, *Die Vererbung des ländlichen Grundbesitzes in der Nachkriegszeit*, ed. by M. Sering and C. v. Dietze, Schriften des Vereins für Sozialpolitik (Munich and Leipsic, 1930), CLXXVIII, 118-19.

‡G. Stockmann, *Die Vererbung des ländlichen Grundbesitzes*, op. cit., part 2.

||C. Horacek, *Das Ausgedinge* (Vienna and Leipsic, 1904), pp. 22-23.

farmer. As it will easily be understood, the *Altenteil* is, in addition, closely connected to "closed inheritance," the inheritance of the farm by one son. German farmers bequeath their property by will only in very exceptional cases. According to the Civil Code which provides equal rights to all children, the farm may be divided among them or sold, if there is no will favoring one son. Before the Entailed Farms Law of 1933 which provided closed inheritance for 25 per cent of all German farms, the *Altenteil* happened to fulfill the function of such a testament: it had become the "last means which guarantees the undivided maintenance of the farm in the hands of the family."<sup>2</sup> If one understands this function of the *Altenteil*, one can explain why this institution is and was favored even by those who recognize that it very often results in intolerable conditions. Renting the farm to a son does not mean that the son should inherit the farm and the other children be cut off; transferring the farm to a son who has to maintain the father often does mean it. Thus those who try to maintain closed inheritance among German farmers defend, as a rule, the *Altenteil*, too.

In those regions where the division of inherited land is customary, the *Altenteil* can occasionally be found. The retired farmer then lives with

<sup>2</sup> A. v. Miaskowski, *Das Erbrecht und die Grundeigentumsverteilung im deutschen Reiche* (Schriften des Vereins für Sozialpolitik, v. 25) (Leipsic, 1884), II, 165.

that son who receives the largest or the best part of the farm or the farm buildings.<sup>3</sup> In France, for instance, inherited farm land is usually divided. However, it happens very seldom that the parents during their lifetime divide their property among the presumptive heirs. The French Civil Code contains provisions which permit them to do so, but these provisions do not work well for certain reasons. Occasionally, however, the division of the land takes place during the lifetime of the parents. Then it may happen that they stay on the farm and are maintained by the children. This, however, can be found only among the lower classes of the peasantry. The parents then have a pitiful fate. They live with one child for a short time and then move to another. It is reported that they are treated like servants, and even have to fear for their life.<sup>4</sup>

#### WHEN IS THE ALTENTEIL ESTABLISHED AND HOW IS THE SUCCESSOR CHOSEN?

For various reasons, the time of the transfer of the farm, or, in other words, the age of the farmer when he retires, and of the son when he receives the farm, is of great importance. The time of the transfer depends in the first place upon the manner in which the successor is selected. In addition, specific conditions of the farmer, the farm, the country, and the time have to be taken into account.

The age of the farmer at the time of his retirement depends, of course, upon whether the farm is handed over to the eldest son. It is not the place here to discuss the origins and the occurrences of the various customs. We deal with them only insofar as they influence the time the farm changes hands. The selection of the eldest son was more usual in the past than it is now. In the feudal era, when the peasant had to pay fees to the lord for transferring the farm to the son, the lords preferred the eldest son: the farm then had to change owners more often, and more fees had to be paid.<sup>5</sup> If the eldest son is chosen, the transfer of the farm may take place at a time when the retiring farmer is still able to work. The German Entailed Farms Law of 1933 prefers the youngest son, if there is no other custom in a certain region. In the past, the youngest son has been preferred either for traditional reasons, or because the older sons were no longer living on the farm at the time

<sup>3</sup> F. Aereboe, *Agrarpolitik* (Berlin, 1928), p. 507.

<sup>4</sup> Turot, *L'enquete agricole de 1866-70* (Paris, 1871), pp. 30-35, quoted in Miaskowski, *op. cit.*, 212-13; cf. Miaskowski, *op. cit.*, 167-68; A. v. Brandt, "Erbrecht und ländliche Erbsitten in Frankreich," *Ländwirtschaftliche Jahrbücher*, XXIV (1900), 148-49.

<sup>5</sup> Lujo Brentano, "Erbrechtspolitik: Alte und neue Feudalität," *Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Stuttgart, 1899), I, 432.

of the father's retirement, or, according to the famous political writer Justus Möser (1720-94), "in order that the older ones have left the nest, when the heir wants to brood again."<sup>6</sup> The most important reason, perhaps, is that the farmer, by preferring the youngest son, can take care of the older ones while he is still the master of the estate, and can dispose of the revenues of the farm so that the older sons can be educated and endowed. Moreover, if this has already been done under the management of the father, the young son who receives the farm has to incur fewer debts when the farm is passed to him. This factor has induced many farmers to select a younger son instead of the oldest. They even went so far as to choose a daughter, if she was the youngest child. Moreover, there is another motive which is probably more powerful than any other: "The peasants show the clear intention to keep their unrestricted property as long as possible; they do not want to become dependent upon the children. They do not know how the children will treat them, and if they are fitted for an appropriate management of the farm."<sup>7</sup>

With the exception of those farmers who are regimented by the Entailed Farms Law of 1933, many German farmers no longer base their choice upon a predetermined customary selection. More rational points of view are taken into account, and the circumstances and conditions of each specific case are considered. That heir is chosen who seems to be the most capable and efficient, who has a wife with whom the parents are on good terms.<sup>8</sup> There are no figures available which reflect this development in a larger region. Figures for a few districts in Württemberg are shown in the following table:

TABLE 2  
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FARM HEIRS BY BIRTH IN SELECTED DISTRICTS  
OF WÜRTTEMBERG, 1865-1934

<i>The heir was :</i>	1865-89	1890-1914	1915-34
Oldest son.....	57.8	54.5	49.3
Youngest son.....	21.1	23.4	21.8
Another son.....	21.1	22.1	28.9

Source: P. Brugger, *Der Anerbe und das Schicksal seiner Geschwister*, p. 23.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 290.

<sup>7</sup> L. Fick, *Die bauerliche Erbfolge im rechtsrheinischen Bayern* (Stuttgart, 1895), p. 74.

<sup>8</sup> Bissing, in *Die Vererbung des ländlichen Grundbesitzes in der Nachkriegszeit*, ed. by M. Sering and C. V. Dietze, *Schriften des Vereins für Sozialpolitik* (Munich, 1930), CLXXVIII<sup>1</sup>, 56; G. Stockmann, *Die Vererbung des ländlichen Grundbesitzes*, *op. cit.*, CLXXVIII<sup>2</sup>, 421 ff.



Another principle of selection has often been emphasized: that son is selected whose wife has the largest dowry, and the transfer takes place as soon as an appropriate marriage is concluded.<sup>9</sup>

During the last hundred years the time of the transfer of the farm has gradually become later. More than forty years ago, parents were reported who retired at the age of forty.<sup>10</sup> Now the average age of the father is between sixty-five and sixty-nine years when he retires from farming. The following table shows the considerable rise within the last few generations. The number of cases where the farmer was under sixty when he retired has decreased by 50 per cent in the last seventy years, and the number of farmers who do not retire before they are seventy years or older has increased by 73 per cent in the same period.

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY AGE GROUPS OF RETIRING FARMERS AT THE TIME OF THE TRANSFER OF THE FARM TO THE SON IN WÜRTTEMBERG AND MECKLENBURG, 1865-1934

Age	Württemberg			Mecklenburg
	1865-90	1890-1914	1915-34	1919-30
Under 60.....	23.0	15.0	11.5	7.8
60 to 70.....	58.0	55.6	55.6	53.0
70 to 80.....	17.9	28.0	31.8	29.4
Over 80.....	1.1	1.4	1.1	9.8

Sources: P. Brugger, *Der Anerbe und das Schicksal seiner Geschwister*, p. 30; H. J. Seraphim, in *Die Vererbung des ländlichen Grundbesitzes*, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

The inflation following the Great War has induced German farmers to postpone the transfer.<sup>11</sup> The development is intensified by the fact that the farmers are usually no longer able to save enough money to make them more independent during the retirement and allow them a certain comfort. "They do not want to be unconditionally surrendered to the successor, and, in particular, to his wife."<sup>12</sup> Expecting better and less troubled times, they postpone the transfer of the farm.

The late passing of the farm to the son intensifies the evil consequences of closed inheritance. If, for instance, the sons are tolerated on the farm only as unmarried farmhands, the number of illegitimate chil-

<sup>9</sup> Brentano, *op. cit.*, 430-32; Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

<sup>10</sup> Brentano, *op. cit.*, 446.

<sup>11</sup> C. J. Fuchs, in *Die Vererbung des ländlichen Grundbesitzes*, *op. cit.*, p. 424.

<sup>12</sup> Bissing, *op. cit.*, 56; H. Bechtel, in *Die Vererbung des ländlichen Grundbesitzes*, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

dren increases. In the beginning of the nineteenth century the following conditions were reported from a Bavarian district: "The desire to marry is very moderate. The main reason is the unwillingness of the parents to transfer the farm. Meanwhile the children grow old, look around for 'acquaintances,' and mostly have already adult heirs before they receive the farm. Then all desire to marry has expired."<sup>13</sup>

The following table shows the age distribution of the sons at the time of the transfer of the farm. The cases correspond to those shown in the last column of Table 3: 39 per cent of the fathers were over 70 when they retired; 25 per cent of their sons were over 37 when they received the farm.

TABLE 4  
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY AGE GROUPS OF SUCCESSORS AT THE TIME OF  
THE TRANSFER OF THE FARM IN MECKLENBURG, 1919-30

Under 21.....	1.7
21-24.....	3.5
25-28.....	14.3
29-32.....	34.1
33-36.....	21.5
37-40.....	10.6
Over 40.....	14.3

Source: H. J. Seraphim, in *Die Vererbung des ländlichen Grundbesitzes*, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

Only 5 per cent of all sons received the farm before their twenty-fifth year; the average age was 32 years. There are, however, cases where the transfer takes place at an early age which is often too early. In Sweden the time of the transfer was influenced by the working capacity of the father in earlier times. During the migration into the cities and during the period when the desire of the young folks for independence became greater, the transfer took place at an earlier age, in order to retain the son on the farm. It is, however, still usual to wait until all children are grown so that they may be endowed by the father when he is still the master of the estate. If there is only one child, the transfer may take place much earlier.<sup>14</sup> In Germany an early transfer is sometimes effected if the farmer is too deeply indebted to be able to continue operating and owning the farm.<sup>15</sup> Sometimes the early transfer is caused by the intention of the father to avoid family conflicts. "If the father

<sup>13</sup> See the quotations in Fick, *op. cit.*, pp. 310-11.

<sup>14</sup> Stockmann, *op. cit.*, 420.

<sup>15</sup> Bissing, *op. cit.*, 56.

does not hand over the farm to a son who is engaged or who has already children, then the family peace is disturbed by permanent troubles."<sup>16</sup>

If the farm has been transferred too early, the debts for the indemnification and compensation of the leaving children and the allowances for the parents may encumber it beyond all means. The time during which the parents have to be maintained becomes unduly long, if the farmer retires too early. Then there may be two or even three generations of retired parents on the farm at the same time.<sup>17</sup> In order to prevent such occurrences, the laws of the feudal era provided that the farmer might not retire and transfer the farm to the son until he reached a certain age. If the time at which the transfer of the farm takes place varies so widely, the length of the farmer's retirement period which begins at this time has to have similar variations.

#### THE ALTENTEIL CONTRACT

The price which the successor pays for the farm depends, first of all, on the inheritance customs.<sup>18</sup> Where one heir is preferred and the others receive only small compensations, the price is low. Where, however, the rights of the children are regarded as equal, the successor does not enjoy a preferential treatment, and he has to pay a price out of which the other children can be paid off proportionately. If their claims are so high that the parents are afraid of living with a successor who will be in permanent financial distress, the farm has to be sold.

The price at which the heir takes over the farm is, as a rule, not determined by rational calculation. The price depends only to a slight degree upon the market or income value of the farm. Thus the price is rather a customary thing, determined by the usages of a region or by the price which the farmer once paid to his father. Factors which tend to lower the price are more distinct: compensation for unpaid work performed by the heir on the farm, or for an endowment should he not inherit the farm. Likewise the debts of the farm, which are assumed by the successor, and the capital value of the *Altenteil* proper, the allowances of the parents, are deducted.

There are still other factors which influence the price, and limit it to an amount the farm can carry. The dowry of the successor's wife is

<sup>16</sup> Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

<sup>17</sup> This is reported of Lithuania. Cf. Robert Stein, *Die Umwandlung der Agrarverfassung Ostpreussens durch die Reform des 19. Jahrhunderts*, III (Königsberg, 1934), 225.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. P. Brugger, *Der Anerbe und das Schicksal seiner Geschwister*, *Berichte über Landwirtschaft*, new ser., spec. no. 121 (Berlin, 1936), p. 15; Stockmann, *op. cit.*, 423 ff.; Fick, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-52; Bissing, *op. cit.*, 56-58; Brentano, *op. cit.*, 461, 477.

taken into consideration insofar as it helps to determine his ability to pay. The price is higher if the parents have to spend a part of it for the education or for the endowment of the other children. Thus the price depends upon the financial standing of the family, upon the number of children, upon the expected lifetime of the parents, etc. Ultimately the price will not be too high, because the self-interest of the parents induces them to favor that child upon whom they will depend later on. They will not encumber the farm too heavily, for the farm has to supply them with lodging and livelihood. They want to be on good terms with the successor, and this is to the disadvantage of the other children whose share might be larger if their compensation is agreed upon after the death of the parents. Moreover, farmers prefer low prices because the fees and expenses of the transaction depend upon the amount involved.

If the successor is favored by a low price, often additional payments are provided should he sell the farm or die without children. It has been reported that such payments would be more frequent if they did not disclose the true value of the farm, and thus increase the transfer fees.

In the last fifty years the price has gradually increased. This development has been imputed to the fact that the father's authority over the children has become less powerful, and the children who leave the farm are often able to bring pressure upon the father and the successor. If they insist on high compensations for their leaving, the price, naturally, has to go up. It is reported that there are regular auctions among the children in Sweden; the one who offers the best price gets the farm.

The inflation of the currency which took place in Germany after the war is another reason for the increase in the price. There are still feelings of uncertainty of the value of the money, and the farmers attempt to protect themselves by asking for more money. In addition, farmers often want to hide the economic decline from which they, like other groups of the population, suffer. Thus they insist on an imaginary price which is higher than the market price.

The price has to be paid in cash if the successor is able to do so. Perhaps he can use the dowry of his wife. Otherwise, and this usually happens, the farm is mortgaged. The interest rate is often lower than the usual one. The sum is divided among the children either before or after the death of the parents; payments are due if and when the money is needed.

## RIGHTS OF RETIRED PARENTS AGAINST THE SUCCESSOR

From the retiring farmer's point of view, the stipulations of his claims against the successor are the main contents of the transfer contract. These rights are the *Altenteil* proper: "the share of the old folks." During the feudal era the lords had great influence on the terms of the contract, which was void without their assent. Later statutes established rules to which the contracting parties had to adhere. Often limits were set up beyond which the rights of the retiring farmer could not be extended. The farm should not be encumbered too heavily. The lords were interested in keeping down the allowances of the retired peasants, and a strict control was effected by their officials. Often they drafted the contracts, and the peasants did nothing but sign them. Now the Entailed Farms Law of 1933 has brought about a revival of this regimentation in Germany. The provisions of this statute as well as some court decisions will be discussed later on. This law applies to about one quarter of all farms in Germany. Farmers of the remaining holdings are comparatively free in stipulating the conditions of the transfer contracts. They are, however, controlled by the Reich Food Estate, which may influence the contents of the contracts. The following remarks pertain to these "free" farms, and not to the entailed farms.

The contents of the contract<sup>19</sup> depend upon the size and the type of the farm, and upon the intensity of the capitalistic spirit among the farm population. The smaller the farm, the heavier the allowances are felt. Where the production for domestic use has preserved the old spirit, only a small part of the allowances consists of money. The old folks are given one or more rooms or a little house near to the farm building; they may keep some animals which are fed together with the new farmer's animals; in addition, they are given some land where they can grow their own vegetables and crops unless they receive all their food at the common table. Finally they receive fuel, clothing, care in cases of sickness and old age, expenses for medical treatment, and, very important in Germany, a decent burial. All these allowances are carefully specified in the contracts which occasionally enumerate even such items as the "*Gräbeier*," i.e., the beer for the funeral solemnities.

In modern times, money plays a more important role among the allowances. A larger amount may be given in cash instead of kind, or the old farmer may be entitled at any time to claim a certain amount of

<sup>19</sup> Miaskowski, *op. cit.*, 164.



money instead of being maintained on the farm. Before the War, well-to-do farmers occasionally moved into the cities when they retired. This is very rare now, because the sons cannot pay the necessary cash. Only if the peace of the family is seriously disrupted, the old folks will use their right to ask for monthly or annual money payments instead of maintenance in kind, and will move away. Thus the capitalistic development, in the main, expressed itself in the following ways: (1) Instead of maintenance at the common table, certain amounts of farm products are stipulated. (2) The allowances in kind are priced so that the transferor can get money instead of the products. (3) The parents stipulate only certain allowances in kind, and use the interest on the mortgage for their living.

Again the inflation of the German currency has brought many changes. The old custom of retaining certain parcels of the land was revived.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, the amount of the allowance was increased considerably. This development had already begun in the past century, and it was intensified by the War and inflation period. The many conflicts and troubles during these times induced the farmers to stipulate allowances which were so high that they served as a means of security, by bringing pressure upon the son to live up to the conditions moderated at the discretion of the retired farmer who did not claim the full amount so long as there was peace. Occasionally the son insists on the stipulation that such allowances which consist of products not produced on the farm may not be removed from the farm.

Another cause of the increase in the allowances may be found in the somewhat increased mobility of the land; farmers want security in case their successors die, in which case they would probably be obliged to live with strangers. For the same reason allowances are increased to prevent the successor's selling the farm. In Sweden instances can be found in which provision is made to double the allowance if the farm is sold.<sup>21</sup>

It has been observed that many farmers still do not realize that higher allowances in kind are a burden on the farm, in spite of the growing production for the market.<sup>22</sup> It has been estimated that the money value of the allowances in kind is 1,000 to 1,200 marks per

<sup>20</sup> C. J. Fuchs, in *Schriften des Vereins für Sozialpolitik*, CLXXVII, 187, and in *Die Vererbung des ländlichen Grundbesitzes in der Nachkriegszeit*, CLXVII<sup>1</sup>, 429-30; J. Jessen, in *Die Vererbung des ländlichen Grundbesitzes*, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

<sup>21</sup> Stockmann, *op. cit.*, 416-17.

<sup>22</sup> Bissing, *op. cit.*, 59.

year now, as compared with 500 to 700 marks before the War. The pocket money was 15 to 18 marks per month before the War, and now it is 20 to 30, even 45 marks. If no pocket money is stipulated, the son has to pay a lump sum before the farm is passed on to him, or he has to make interest payments for a mortgage held by the father.<sup>23</sup>

This is not the place to discuss the debt problem of the German farmer in its entirety. The capital value of all *Altenteils* amounts to about one billion marks,<sup>24</sup> or 12 per cent of the total farm debt. A somewhat higher percentage—about 15 per cent—is composed of the mortgages given to the leaving heirs.<sup>25</sup> Figures, based upon samples, showing the capital value of the *Altenteil* per hectare of farm land are reproduced in the following table, together with the other farm debt.

TABLE 5

CAPITAL VALUE OF THE ALTENTEIL COMPARED WITH OTHER FARM DEBT PER HECTARE OF FARM LAND, BY REGIONAL AND SIZE GROUPS, 1924-30

Region and size group	Average capital value of the <i>Altenteil</i> , 1924-30	Other debt 1930
	RM	RM
East Germany		
5-50 ha.....	139	447
50-200 ha.....	47	651
200 and over.....	23	656
West Germany		
5-20 ha.....	180	462
20-100 ha.....	107	555
100 and over.....	48	832

Source: Fensch *et al.*, *Deutsche Agrarpolitik*, ed. by the Friedrich-List-Gesellschaft (Berlin, 1932), I, 395, 397.

As the table shows, the *Altenteil* is a heavy burden on small farms where the capitalized value of the *Altenteil* per hectare is higher than on larger farms. Likewise the *Altenteil* on small farms is a much higher percentage of the total farm debt than in the case of larger farms. The larger the farm, the higher is the other debt per hectare, while the value of the *Altenteil* per hectare gradually becomes smaller.

The *Altenteil*, if entered into the land register, is regarded as a mortgage-like institution. If the son sells the farm, the purchaser has to

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> Deutsche Rentenbank-Kreditanstalt, *Die Verschuldung der Deutschen Landwirtschaft*, (Berlin, 1937).

<sup>25</sup> Gerhard Kokotkiewicz, "Der Immobiliarkredit," *Vierteljahrshefte zur Konjunkturforschung*, spec. no. 30 (Berlin, 1932), p. 21.

fulfill the obligations with respect to the *Altenteil* according to the original transfer contract.

#### ALTENTEIL AND ENTAILED FARMS

The Entailed Farms Law which was decreed in Germany in 1933 expressly mentions contracts of the type discussed here, and favors their use. There have already been many court decisions to show how the provisions of the law work in practice. The courts which deal with these cases are special "Courts for Entailed Farms"; peasants and jurists sit on the bench. The president of the Supreme Court for Entailed Farms is, at the same time, Minister of Agriculture, and, in addition, head of the powerful Reich Food Estate. A general tendency can be perceived in all these decisions to curtail the limited discretion which the law leaves to the parties, so that the retiring farmer may not receive anything beyond his mere subsistence.

According to the law a transfer contract is void unless the courts have given their assent to it. The courts are bound to grant their assent if the terms of the contract do not burden the farm too heavily.<sup>26</sup> Even if the terms of the contract do not encumber the farm beyond its means the assent is refused, however, in case the terms are symptoms of a capitalistic manner of thinking, and, therefore, conflicting with the basic principles of the Entailed Farms Law.<sup>27</sup> It will be made clear soon, what kind of terms are meant thereby.

Still one more limit on the claims of the retiring farmer has been established by the courts: his allowance may not exceed an amount necessary for his own use. Thus it was held illegal to reserve for him the whole crop of fruits.<sup>28</sup> However, even within these narrow limits the retiring farmer has no security. His allowances may be further curtailed in the future if and when the farm becomes encumbered beyond its means.<sup>29</sup> The old farmer is given his maintenance in kind only, and only on the farm. He may receive special rooms, and will usually eat at the common table. He receives the necessary clothing, and, if the farm can bear it, some pocket money. It is not allowed to pay him or

<sup>26</sup> Entailed Farms Law, § 37; see H. W. Spiegel, "Land Inheritance Under the Swastika, *Agricultural History*, 1939.

<sup>27</sup> Reich Court for Entailed Farms, July 12, 1935, *Recht des Reichsnährstandes*, 1935, no. 489.

<sup>28</sup> Reich Court for Entailed Farms, February 22, 1936, *Juristische Wochenschrift*, 1936, p. 1848.

<sup>29</sup> Decisions in *Recht des Reichsnährstandes*, 1936, nos. 682, 1066.

the brothers who are "cut off with a shilling" a compensation in cash for the transfer of the farm, or to pay him any interest, even for a few years.<sup>30</sup> The allowances are no longer secured by a mortgage.<sup>31</sup> The old farmer may not, as he used to, retain special parcels or tracts which remained his property.<sup>32</sup> The transfer contract has to contain provisions which lower the allowances in case the old farmer or his wife dies. Then the allowances have to be curtailed by at least one third.<sup>33</sup>

The old farmer has virtually no chance to leave the farm if he is badly treated by the successor. The contract no longer provides him the right to claim monthly cash payments to enable him to spend his life elsewhere. These cash payments were often high in order to bring pressure upon the successor to behave well. Now the only recourse of the old farmer is to the authorities of the Reich Food Estate. If they do not help him, he may take refuge with the courts.<sup>34</sup> There are probably only few old farmers who have the energy and courage to go to the length of doing all that when they still have to live on the farm, and do not know whether their pleas with the authorities would be of any avail.

In these circumstances the old farmer is wary of a procedure of retirement which makes him entirely dependent upon his successor, who may already have failed in the respect due to his parents. There are cases in which the presumptive heir and successor has made a secret agreement with his father, and promised him payments not provided by the law; or else he may have induced him by cash payments to transfer the farm to him. If agreements of this type become known, the courts or the Reich Food Estate take steps which may amount to a deprivation of the management or even of the property.<sup>35</sup> There are other cases in which farmers have tried to evade the *Altenteil* provisions of the Entailed Farms Law by renting the farm to the son. However, lease contracts for more than one year are void unless the authorities have

<sup>30</sup> Reich Court for Entailed Farms, February 13, 1935, *Juristische Wochenschrift*, 1935, p. 1636.

<sup>31</sup> Reich Court for Entailed Farms, October 15, 1936, *Recht des Reichsnährstandes*, 1936, no. 602.

<sup>32</sup> Reich Court for Entailed Farms, December 12, 1934, *Juristische Wochenschrift*, 1935, p. 617.

<sup>33</sup> Reich Court for Entailed Farms, October 15, 1936, *Recht des Reichsnährstandes*, 1936, no. 602.

<sup>34</sup> Reich Court for Entailed Farms, December 16, 1936, *Recht des Reichsnährstandes*, 1937, no. 65.

<sup>35</sup> W. Herschel, *Geheime Nebenabreden und freiwillige Leistungen im Erbhofrecht, Recht des Reichsnährstandes*, 1936, pp. 283-5.

assented to them;<sup>36</sup> and the authorities do not permit leases of this type.<sup>37</sup>

Thus the old farmer who is afraid of retiring can do nothing but wait. However, if he becomes too old for efficient management the Reich Food Estate will ask for his retirement. If he does not comply with this order, the son, a neighbor, or an official of the Reich Food Estate may compulsorily be put in his place. In that case the situation of the old farmer is even worse: if he wants to be maintained on the farm he has to work for his living.

#### IS THE ALTENTEIL A DESIRABLE INSTITUTION?

From the economic point of view it is probably desirable that a farmer be replaced by his son when he becomes too old. Moreover, if he does not retire but keeps the farm till his death, the son is often too old to marry and become a successful farm operator. It seems, however, that the disadvantages of the institution outweigh the advantages.<sup>38</sup> If the farm is too small to maintain both the families, the *Altenteil* results in permanent conflicts. A similar source of permanent tension is the uncertainty of the lifetime of the parents which makes the contract somewhat risky. The old folks become too dependent upon the son; they lose their sense of responsibility, and are, in general, not too well treated by the successor. They are helpless if the farm is foreclosed; and if the farm is sold to a purchaser who is not a relative, they are legally entitled to claim food and lodging, but it cannot be expected that they will stay on the farm for a long time.

The main disadvantage of the *Altenteil* lies in the fact that the peace of the family is profoundly threatened by this method of anticipated inheritance. It has been said that the *Altenteil* cannot be considered a "good old custom, but it is the most unhappy invention one can think of." The *Altenteil* has been called "immoral and really hurtful in the majority of all cases."<sup>39</sup> Thus Bohemian peasants petitioned for its abolition in 1893,<sup>40</sup> and it is recognized that the *Altenteil* leads to law suits, family conflicts, and even to crimes against the life and health of the parents. The Prussian prefect v. Nathusius has called the *Alten-*

<sup>36</sup> Erbhofrechtsverordnung, December 21, 1936, § 30.

<sup>37</sup> Sauer, Erbhof und Pacht, *Recht des Reichsnährstandes*, 1936, p. 287.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. C. Horacek, *Das Ausgedinge* (Vienna, 1904), pp. 70 ff.; Miaskowski, *op. cit.*, II, 214.

<sup>39</sup> See the quotations in Miaskowski, *op. cit.*, II, 214.

<sup>40</sup> Horacek, *op. cit.*, p. 51.



teil a "cancer of the peasantry"; others have spoken of it as a "slow parricide."<sup>41</sup> In answering an official Swedish inquiry in 1919, a district report said "the *Altenteil* has disappeared; fortunately enough for the contracting parties."<sup>42</sup> Other observers shift the responsibility for the conflicts from the son to the parents; a German farmers' paper wrote in 1896 "it is only natural that the son or son-in-law is longing for the liberation from his blood-suckers."<sup>43</sup> But, in general, there are many more complaints about the harshness and ruthlessness of the children than of the parents. The money which the parents can claim, if they cannot stand to live on the farm any longer, has the significant name *Austriebsgeld*, expulsion money.

Lujo Brentano, the great economic historian, once compiled some folklore about the *Altenteil*.<sup>44</sup> He tells us of the club hanging at the gates of German cities, together with the inscription, "Who gave bread to his children and is in want in his old-age, has to be killed with the club." In South Germany people speak of the golden chair which waits in heaven for one who went into the *Altenteil* and did not repent it. They say the chair was never taken. Brentano refers to the deprecatory treatment of the *Altenteil* in the novels which, apart from their merits as works of art, have value for the sociologist. "It is characteristic that probably none of the many allegories and moral stories of the peasants is more widely known and exists in more variations than the story of the ungrateful children. They let the father to whom they owe maintenance eat at a wooden trough, because his trembling hands sometimes had shed the food. Once they observed that their own little boy cut a little trough from wood, and when they asked him, what for, he answered: in order that his parents could eat out of it, when they would receive maintenance from him later on."<sup>45</sup>

For a long time proposals concerning a reform of the *Altenteil* have been discussed. Today these proposals have a mere academic character; the *Altenteil* is certainly the most unexpensive means to secure the management of the farm by a new farmer, if the old one has lost his efficiency. The most realistic reform proposal has been made by Brentano.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*; Miaskowski, *op. cit.*, II, 212.

<sup>42</sup> Stockmann, *op. cit.*, p. 415.

<sup>43</sup> Brentano, *op. cit.*, p. 446.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 136.

<sup>45</sup> W. H. Riehl, *Die bürgerliche Gesellschaft* (2nd ed., Stuttgart, 1854), p. 59, quoted in Brentano, *op. cit.*

<sup>46</sup> Brentano, *op. cit.*, p. 467.

He thought of an insurance for the farmer which would enable him to pay compensation to the heirs who have left the farm, and which, in addition, would supply him with annuities when he retires. An insurance of this type would stop farm indebtedness created by inheritance division.

Insurance, especially life or annuity insurance, is not much used by German farmers, and it is questionable whether they could afford an insurance like the one proposed. This is especially true with respect to the small farms where the *Altenteil* brings about the most unhappy conditions.

Other proposals<sup>47</sup> were directed towards an irrevocable lease contract between the father and the son, and towards restrictions on the debts of the farm. This proposal would only amount to a legalistic change; the situation of the parents who have irrevocably rented the farm to the son would be virtually the same that it would be under the *Altenteil*. Another proposal propagated the enactment of legal rules regarding the *Altenteil*. Only an *Altenteil* in money should be permitted so that the retired farmer would have freedom to move. If this proposal had become reality the conditions would be very similar to the system of "related tenancy" which prevails in the United States. The "related tenants" hardly need any reform, and certainly none which would bring about the *Altenteil*.

<sup>47</sup> Miaskowski, *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften* (4th ed., Jena, 1923), I, 255 ff.

## Notes

### THE BEGINNINGS OF RURAL SOCIAL STUDIES IN THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

In looking over some old correspondence I recently came across a letter from Dr. T. N. Carver on a letterhead "United States Department of Agriculture cooperating with The Rural Organization Service." I knew of the Rural Organization Service, but I had it in mind as a part of the Department of Agriculture. I therefore wrote to Dr. Carver, and have a very interesting reply from him, which seems worthy of publication, as probably many persons are unfamiliar with the part which he played in starting the first social studies of rural life under the auspices of the federal government. He writes as follows:

"As to the Rural Organization Service, it was financed by the General Education Board. For some years that Board had been financing some Farm Demonstration Work in the Southern States, under the general direction, first of the late Seaman A. Knapp, and later under his son, Bradford Knapp. When Mr. D. F. Houston became Secretary of Agriculture [1913], the officers of the Board came to him and offered to finance some other work. Some one suggested,—whether it was Mr. Houston or some member of the Board, I do not know—that the subject of marketing was of great importance, and that marketing required organization. So it was arranged that the Board would finance a preliminary study of the general problem of Rural Organization. I was asked to come to Washington for consultation.

"The upshot of it was that I was asked to become head of the Rural Organization Service. Congress had already appropriated some money [\$50,000] for a study of marketing, but none for the study of rural organization. It was thought that the two studies should be carried on in close cooperation.

"Mr. Chas. A. Brand was made head of the Office of Markets, and we worked together. At the end of the year, the General Education Board did not renew the appropriation, but Congress was convinced of the importance of the study of Rural Organization, and in the next year's [1914] appropriation included funds for that purpose. The work was to be carried on *under* the Office of Markets. The headship of the Rural Organization work did not, and, under the Civil Service rules, could not carry a salary anywhere near what I was then getting at Harvard, so I returned to Harvard. At Mr. Brand's request, however, I remained at a nominal salary in a position called 'Adviser in Agricultural Economics' for a year." [The rest of the letter is of a personal nature.]

Secretary Houston was keenly interested in the broader problems of rural life, which was shown not only by the establishment of the Rural Organization Serv-

ice, but by his inquiry as to the needs of farm women, and in his first report,<sup>1</sup> under the general heading of New Fields of Work, we find a page on "Other Rural Organization Problems" (p. 37) and two paragraphs headed "Home Management," the initial idea which later flowered into the Bureau of Home Economics.

Professor Carver and Secretary Houston were friends, and the Secretary had great confidence in him. As Dr. Carver states, when the Rural Organization Service was discontinued as such it was combined with the Office of Markets, in 1914, under the title Office of Markets and Rural Organization, which became the Bureau of Markets in 1917. One of the products of Dr. Carver's work in this capacity was published in the Yearbook of the U. S. Department of Agriculture for 1914 under the title "The Organization of a Rural Community" (pp. 89-138), which was the first prospectus or plan for rural community organization.

The work begun by Dr. Carver was continued by Carl W. Thompson, Specialist in Rural Organization, Office of Markets and Rural Organization, who had already produced the first survey of a rural community conducted under the auspices of a state university.<sup>2</sup> In the Yearbook of the Department for 1915 is an article by him on "How the Department of Agriculture Promotes Organization in Rural Life." His work became more largely concerned with rural credit and finance, but he took an active part in promoting rural life studies, and was one of the Committee on Country Life which launched the American Country Life Association in 1918. Besides his work in charge of Rural Credit, Insurance and Communication, Mr. Thompson's work is specifically described in the following statement of the organization of the Office of Markets and Rural Organization of 1915:

RURAL, SOCIAL, AND EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES. C. W. Thompson, Specialist in Rural Organization Work.

The object of this work is the improvement of social and educational conditions in rural communities by the accumulation and dissemination of useful information growing out of a study of the social and educational needs of typical communities; the work of their existing forms of organization, and the possibilities for improvement through organized activity; the investigation of methods of encouraging social organization activities; and the study of means of improving social, economic, and educational conditions of women and children through the work of women's rural organizations.

*Scientific staff.*—J. Sterling Moran, Leon E. Truesdell, field assistants; Anne M. Evans, investigator in women's rural organizations; E. C. Branson, Chapel Hill, N. C.; W. E. Garnett, Charlottesville, Va.; D. J. Burleson, Auburn, Ala., collaborators.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Yearbook of the United States Department of Agriculture*, 1913. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1914. Report of the Secretary, dated Dec. 1, 1913, pp. 9-74.

<sup>2</sup> Carl W. Thompson and G. P. Warber, *Social and Economic Survey of a Rural Township in Southern Minnesota*, University of Minnesota Studies in Economics 1 (Minneapolis, April, 1913).

<sup>3</sup> *List of Workers in Subjects Pertaining to Agriculture and Home Economics in the United States Department of Agriculture and in the State Agricultural Colleges and Experi-*

J. Sterling Moran was his assistant for two years and wrote a bulletin on the Community Fair.<sup>4</sup> Miss Anne M. Evans, Investigator in Women's Rural Organizations, contributed an article to the 1917 Yearbook and a bulletin on Women's Rural Organizations and their activities, in 1918.<sup>5</sup> In 1917 Mr. Wayne C. Nason was added to Mr. Thompson's staff and with him produced the first of his bulletins on Rural Community Buildings.<sup>6</sup> A footnote on the first page of this bulletin says: "On July 1, 1919, the study of rural social organization, including rural community buildings, was transferred to the Office of Farm Management, and Mr. Thompson assumed charge of the Division of Cooperative Marketing." At this time the work was placed in charge of Dr. C. J. Galpin, as "Farm Life Studies."<sup>7</sup> In 1921, when the Bureau of Agricultural Economics was created, it

Thus studies in the social aspects of rural life have been continuous in the United States Department of Agriculture for the past 25 years, thanks to the initial impetus of the General Education Board.

Cornell University

DWIGHT SANDERSON

# THE WORK OF THE DIVISION OF FARM POPULATION AND RURAL LIFE OF

## THE BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

GIVEN AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE RURAL SOCIOLOGY SOCIETY  
DECEMBER, 1938, DETROIT, MICHIGAN

The Division of Farm Population and Rural Life is in its twentieth year of existence. It was established upon the recommendation of a special committee named by Secretary of Agriculture Houston which reported to him in a document published as Circular 139 of the Office of the Secretary, dated June, 1919.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. C. J. Galpin was brought to Washington in May of that year by Dr. H. C. Taylor, Chief of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics (then the Office of Farm Management and Farm Economics), and organized the division in June, 1919.

*ment Stations*, corrected to August 1, 1915 (Prepared by the Division of Publications, Jos. A. Arnold, Chief; Washington, 1915), p. 35.

<sup>4</sup> J. Sterling Moran, *The Community Fair*, U. S. D. A. Farmer's Bulletin 870 (Washington, December, 1917), p. 35.

<sup>5</sup> Anne M. Evans, "Rest Rooms for Women in Marketing Centers," *Yearbook of Agriculture* (Washington, 1917), pp. 217-24; Anne M. Evans, *Women's Rural Organizations and Their Activities*, U. S. D. A. Bulletin 719 (Washington, August, 1918).

<sup>6</sup> W. C. Nason (Assistant in Rural Organization), and C. W. Thompson (Specialist in Rural Organization), *Rural Community Buildings in the United States*, contribution from the Bureau of Markets, U. S. D. A. Bulletin 825 (Washington, January, 1920).

<sup>7</sup> Charles Josiah Galpin, *My Drift Into Rural Sociology* (University, La., 1938), p. 36. was made the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life.

<sup>1</sup> The members of the committee were: T. N. Carver (Chairman), O. F. Hall, H. N. Morse, Mabel Carney, Elizabeth Herring, C. B. Smith, Geo. H. Von Tungeln, A. M. Loomis, C. J. Galpin, A. C. True, E. C. Branson, J. L. Dumas, F. O. Clark, Bruce R.



The first budget for the division was \$20,390 for the fiscal year 1919-20. The staff of the division for the first year consisted of four professional persons and two clerks. Dr. Galpin remained as Principal Economist in Charge of the Division until he retired in June, 1934, a period of fifteen years, after which Dr. Theodore Manny, Senior Economist, who had been with the division since October, 1927, was promoted to Acting in Charge and continued in that capacity until October, 1935, when he resigned to accept a position as Head of the Department of Sociology at the University of Maryland. Dr. Carl C. Taylor, then Assistant Administrator of the Resettlement Administration, was named as Collaborator in Charge, in October, 1935, but retained his connection with the Farm Security Administration (previously the Resettlement Administration) as Special Assistant to the Administrator, in charge of Social Research. He was named as Principal Economist in Charge of the Division in February, 1938.

The committee which reported to Secretary Houston in 1919 recommended that the Farm Life Studies, then carried on by the Bureau of Markets, be transferred to the Office of Farm Management and Farm Economics and outlined the major fields of research which should be pursued, as follows:

- I. Rural home.
- II. Opportunities for social contact in typical rural communities.
- III. The relation of educational and religious institutions to farm life problems.
- IV. Problems relating to geographical population groups.
- V. Rural organizations (without definite geographical boundaries).
- VI. Social aspects of tenancy and landlordism.
- VII. Social aspects of various types of farm labor.
- VIII. The relation of various forms of disability to farm-life problems.
- IX. The social consequences of local disasters due to natural causes.
- X. The social consequences of thrift and agencies for promoting thrift.

The budget for the division was increased to \$25,000 for 1920-21, remained the same for the next year; was increased to \$31,200 for 1922-23 and remained the same until 1927-28, when it was slightly reduced; was increased to \$32,825 for 1928-29 and to \$33,825 for 1929-30. This was the year of its highest budget until 1937-38. After 1929-30 the budget for the division decreased each year until it reached the level of \$13,045 for 1933-34. Thus the fifteenth year of the work of the division was supported by funds equal to only 65.2 per cent of what it started with in its first year and only slightly more than 38.5 per cent of its highest budget, in the eleventh year of work.

The professional personnel of the division reached a maximum of five and its clerical personnel (full and part time) a maximum of twenty-three during the year 1922-23. The professional personnel was reduced to four the next year and

Payne, Dwight Sanderson, E. K. Eyerly, Chas. A. Lory, Bradford Knapp, Mrs. Oliver Wilson, H. E. Van Norman, Florence E. Ward, Edna N. White, Ola Powell, C. W. Thompson, O. E. Baker, L. C. Gray, H. C. Taylor, G. I. Christie.

remained there until 1929-30, then to three where it remained through 1933-34, and fell to two for the fiscal year 1934-35. The clerical personnel diminished from twenty-three for 1922-23 to three for the fiscal years 1933-34 and 1934-35.

During the first fifteen years of the life of the division, a period in which rural social research was steadily developing at one state agricultural experiment station after another, considerable funds were allocated to co-operative projects, generally in amounts of four to six hundred dollars per year to co-operating stations. By this type of assistance, small though it was, research in rural sociology was stimulated and aided at institutions in thirty-seven states. There was a striking relationship throughout the period between the size of the budget of the division and the amount of funds allocated by state experiment stations and colleges for research in rural sociology. The best estimates available indicate that allocations by colleges of agriculture for co-operative research in rural sociology increased from \$3,000 in 1920-21 to \$29,880 in 1929-30, and then diminished steadily to 1933, when the funds supporting projects in co-operation with the division were only \$2,200.

This of course did not mean that rural social research throughout the nation was declining. It was, as a matter of fact, increasing, and slowly one state agricultural experiment station after another was beginning modest research in this field. It did mean that the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, because of restricted funds and personnel, could not co-operate with the states in research and could therefore not exercise either the function of stimulation and guidance which it had done from the day of its establishment, or the function of some degree of co-ordination which was desirable.

From the establishment of the division until the passage of the Purnell Act it was a constant fight to keep appropriation for the work of the division in the budget. Congress apparently saw no clear-cut justification for studying farm family standards of living, community organization, and similar social phenomena. The Purnell Act specifically named "sociological" research and while the budget item under which funds are still secured for the work of the division is entitled Farm Management and Practice the Purnell Law did give sociological research legal standing. It is nevertheless an historical fact that the high hopes of rural sociologists that the passage of the Purnell Act would guarantee a great expansion of the rural social research work of the bureau was not justified by what happened in terms of expansion of budgets and increase in personnel for the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life.

From the earliest days of the present administration, under Secretaries Wallace and Wilson, there has been a renewed interest in and an increased support of sociological research in the Department of Agriculture. Dr. A. G. Black, Chief of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics from May, 1935, to November, 1938, in January, 1936, transferred the research in farm labor and that portion of research in farm population which had previously been in the Division of Land Economics, to the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life. This transfer increased the professional personnel of the division from three to five, the clerical personnel from four to seven, and the budget for the fiscal year from

\$13,225 to \$19,665. The budget for the fiscal year 1936-37 was increased to \$33,590 and for 1937-38 to \$43,590. It is the same for the fiscal year 1938-39, but is supplemented by other funds.

In addition to the regular Bureau of Agricultural Economics appropriations the division has since January, 1936, had at its disposal considerable, but varying funds from other agencies. During the second half of the fiscal year 1935-36 the Resettlement Administration (now the Farm Security Administration) allocated \$40,000 for social research. For the next year, 1936-37, it made available \$143,000. The Works Progress Administration allotted to the division \$10,000 for farm labor studies. Thus the total funds for the support of social research under the guidance of the division was \$59,665 in 1935-36 (\$19,665 from Bureau of Agricultural Economics and \$40,000 from Resettlement Administration) and \$246,590 in 1936-37 (\$33,590 from Bureau of Agricultural Economics, \$143,000 from Resettlement Administration, and \$10,000 from Works Progress Administration, and an additional allotment of \$60,000 which the Resettlement Administration distributed among its various regional offices for social research under the guidance of the personnel of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life).

During this year forty-one professional persons and 164 clerical and field workers were on the staff at different stages of research with an average staff, professional and clerical, of ninety-six.

At the end of the fiscal year 1936-37 the Resettlement Administration (now the Farm Security Administration) failed to continue its liberal allocation of funds for social research and that budget was reduced to \$28,733. No Works Progress Administration funds were allotted that year and although the budget for the division from Bureau of Agricultural Economics funds was increased \$10,000 the total research budget for the year was \$72,323 (\$43,590 from Bureau of Agricultural Economics, and \$28,733 from Farm Security Administration). During the last four months of this fiscal year \$10,000 was made available from Title III, Bankhead-Jones Act appropriation, but only \$3,384 of this was expended. Thus the expenditures for 1937-38 were only \$75,707, as compared with \$246,590 for 1936-37.

For the fiscal year 1938-39 the allotment of funds is as follows: Bureau of Agricultural Economics \$43,590; Title III, Bankhead-Jones Act, \$38,500; Farm Security Administration \$2,970; a total of about \$85,060.

The staff of the division, supported by the various funds, for the year consists of fifteen professional and eighteen clerical workers.

During the first fifteen years of slender, and often declining budgets and limited personnel, the division published research findings in twenty-one bulletins and ninety-five mimeographed reports. Co-operating institutions published 101 bulletins.

During the period from 1935 to the present the division has published on Bureau of Agricultural Economics funds three bulletins, on Works Progress Administration funds eleven bulletins, on Resettlement Administration and

Farm Security Administration funds eighteen bulletins and four regional studies, a total of thirty-six publications.

In addition to research work done on funds allocated to the division, members of the staff act as technical advisers and in some cases as supervisors for sociological research being carried on by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, the Soil Conservation Service, and the Farm Security Administration. The funds allocated by these administrations for this work for the present fiscal year are in round numbers about \$100,000. It is thus seen that the funds allocated to sociological research for the year by administrations other than the Bureau of Agricultural Economics are considerably in excess of the division's own appropriations.

One not attached to a government office has little knowledge of the great volume of service required in operating a federal government service. Each division is meshed in with an elaborate machine which not only serves an exceedingly large public but renders constant service to other divisions and departments of government. The Division of Farm Population and Rural Life is the only sociology division in the whole Department of Agriculture. Until rural social research was begun by the Works Progress Administration, it was the only rural sociology, if not the only sociology, division in the whole federal government. The mere task of supplying information to other branches of government in Washington by telephone, letters, memoranda, and committee meetings takes thousands of hours annually. Services to states—governments, institutions, agencies, and individuals, and conferences with persons who flow through Washington take a great deal of time. In the case of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, the publication of *Rural Life Activities*, the assembling and publication of the names and locations of rural sociology workers in the nation, preparation of graphic materials, writing of articles for official publication and participation in research, extension, and welfare conferences throughout the country consume time. With a staff the size of this division well over one-half of all time is spent in what might be called these "cafeteria" services.

Since the establishment of such action agencies as the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, the Soil Conservation Service, and the Farm Security Administration, the need and opportunities for this type of service have greatly increased. All these agencies have considerable appreciation of the fact that they are dealing with social as well as economic adjustments and that there is need for an ever enlarged body of sociological information. The result is that the staff of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life is swamped almost to the point of confusion in attempting to render requested service far beyond its personnel and financial resources. Maybe its suffering consists of growing pains. If so, it is well. If not, it will result in inadequate, if not slipshod, accomplishment.

A corollary to this confusion is the fact that by no means all rural sociological research in agriculture is being done by the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life. Agencies dealing with Land Use Adjustment, whether Land Economics, Soil Conservation Service, or Forest Service have entered the field of



sociological research. The Bureau of Home Economics penetrates this field and the Works Progress Administration spends annually in rural social research from five to ten times as much money as does the whole Department of Agriculture in this field.

Apparently there is great need for co-ordination and synthesis of efforts toward the end of unified and permanent service. Much of the work done by other agencies is not under the guidance of sociologists. The work is therefore done by persons who have no elaborate background of sociological knowledge and who often do not employ tested and valid sociological methods. This development also is promising to the extent that it demonstrates a recognition of the need for social analyses of situations with which these agencies are dealing, but it will not be well for long-time development of valid research and planning if in due time all such work is not co-ordinated and subjected to the guidance of trained sociologists.

In conclusion, I hope I may be excused for attempting to envision the proper future scope and functions of a Division of Rural Sociology in the Department of Agriculture. This task should be made easier now that the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, of which the sociology work is a division, is made responsible for the economic and social research and planning for the whole Department of Agriculture. I am glad to present what seem to me to be problems of the division to this group of rural sociologists with the conviction that their discussion of what I present will serve to better prepare the staff of the division for the tasks in hand.

The first issue, and one raised most often by rural sociologists, concerns the fact that the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life is but one division of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, and is the only sociology division. In the past this has in some ways been good and in some ways bad. It is good because the vast majority of sociological studies and most social planning are closely related and often enmeshed with economic research and planning, and the sociological work would lose much if it lost contact with the day by day work of the agricultural economists. I suppose it may be assumed that these contacts are also beneficial to the economists. It is bad because much of sociology is as definitely related to psychology, history, cultural anthropology, and even biology, as it is to economics; and sociological research and planning work suffers when it is bound too narrowly by the limits of economic consideration and must continually run the gauntlet of the judgment and even the censorship of economists.

The second issue is the one having to do with the practical functioning of a federal government research agency. The nation is too vast and its social situations too diverse for a research agency located at Washington to do other than generic research. Such research should be of two types; one the type which deals with the common denominators of social situations in all the states and regions of the nation, and the other type which deals with situations with which federal action agencies must cope. Only a federal agency, not bound by state lines and state budgets, can encompass the full scope of many research



projects. In some of them it must work with secondary sources, such as census data, crop reporting data, and the like, which work can best be done by means of a highly mechanized organization of machines and clerks with elaborate sources of data, such as can be had in Washington, at hand. In others it must work through regional offices or in co-operation with state experiment stations in order to get field studies conducted on a national basis.

The third issue has to do with the co-operation and conflict of research and administration. A federal sociology research agency must often render emergency service. Administrative agencies cannot delay action in moving programs while a research agency searches two years for an answer which the administrator must have tomorrow, and considerable time of the research agency must be spent in the quick mobilization of the best data available on the problems with which action agencies are dealing. But it must not allow itself to become a mere cafeteria, dispensing tables of statistics, curves, and graphs, or answering emergency calls of those who are hungry for sociological conclusions for which there are no adequate data. It must be a research agency, manned by the best scholars in its field and serviced by a corps of junior professionals and clerical assistants large enough to analyze the vast volume of data with which it must necessarily deal if it is to do the type of research just described and at the same time have ready information for administrators. Of course it cannot retain scholars on its staffs if they are not given the opportunity to do basic research in their chosen fields. To me there is no necessary conflict in these two types of work. Conflict and confusion will develop, however, if so-called scholars don't adjust their technological minds to the analysis of dynamic, moving situations and events and if administrators don't turn research people loose to get answers to questions which may arise two years hence.

The solution to this very problem is to tie research and planning together in the way contemplated by the Secretary of Agriculture in the new assignment he has made to the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. If the researcher is also to be planner he will have to learn two things, both of which he should be compelled to learn if he is to serve in a tax supported agency. First, he must learn to give his research meaning in a practical world and to produce findings of significance to others than his academic colleagues. Second, he must learn how to do team work with his colleagues in the other social sciences.

Applied to the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, this means to my mind the following specific things:

1. That we must "get on the spot," so to speak, and stay there no matter how hot it may be until we answer some of the questions which living, moving programs of action will meet in the not too distant future. Our task is to study and understand social organization and organizations of all kinds and types; to study the historical, psychological and cultural trends and contents of present and evolving human situations; and to discover and understand human beings and social groups as both causes and effects of such things as soil erosion, land abandonment, migrations,

settlement patterns, and social and economic adjustments and maladjustments of all kinds.

2. That we need the co-operation and understanding of other social and even physical scientists who are studying and handling other aspects of these same phenomena, and that we are therefore better located if we are organically related to these other social sciences in a research and planning bureau than if we had a bureau of our own.
3. That sociological research must be expanded into something like ten times its present scope if the sociologists in the bureau are going to occupy the field outlined by Secretary Houston's committee, take over the sociological research now being done by others who have penetrated the field, and carry our share of the load in the research and planning for the whole Department of Agriculture for which the bureau to which we are attached is now made responsible.

The problem is, how can this be accomplished? Can rural sociologists prove to the public that such enlargements are justified, in fact sorely needed? In other words, is my vision only a dream hatched behind my office desk, or is it a challenge to professional rural sociologists to justify their desired place in the sun by works which prove the faith that they hold in the capacity of rural social research to render recognizable service in the field of planning and promoting better rural life? During the twenty years of the division's history, the field of sociology has developed tremendously. The Division of Farm Population and Rural Life has not kept pace with commensurate development. My vision of its tasks, responsibilities, and opportunities therefore challenges those of us who know that it has never fully occupied the field outlined by the committee report which led to its establishment two decades ago. This challenge becomes even more dynamic when we are convinced that the division has greater contributions to make to American rural life than even those listed by that committee which did not and could not foresee the tremendous changes which have taken place in American rural life in the last two decades. These changes have brought with them a recognition on the part of at least some leaders in agriculture that an understanding of social processes and problems is of equal importance with an understanding of physical and economic processes and problems. To the extent that this is and can become increasingly true, naturally rests the future development of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics  
U. S. Department of Agriculture

CARL C. TAYLOR

## Current Bulletins

*Charles P. Loomis, Editor*

### COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

*Influence of Drought and Depression on a Rural Community is A Case Study in Haskell County, Kansas,*<sup>1</sup> a county selected because it is located in an "area of intense drought distress" and severe wind erosion. Since the settlement of the county in 1885, marked deficiencies of rainfall have occurred in 1887, 1889, 1893-97, 1899-1901, 1907-08, 1910-11, 1913, 1916-17, 1924, 1926, and 1932-36. The last drought was the worst in the history of the county, but unlike the previous droughts there was less emigration, less dislocation of schooling and other community agencies, and less interruption of social and economic life generally. This is to be accounted for by the federal assistance in the form of farm loans, relief grants, assistance by the Farm Security Administration, through Works Progress Administration and National Youth Administration projects, and Agricultural Adjustment Administration benefit payments which ran as high as \$450,000 per year from 1933 to 1936 and were received by ninety per cent of the farmers. During the droughts of the 1880's and 1890's, Haskell County was almost depopulated by migration of distressed settlers.

The first state aid given to drought sufferers in the county was in 1889 in the form of payments of \$1 per acre to farmers for each acre of their own land to be plowed and for establishing section lines. County aid for paupers was granted during the crop failure in 1887 shortly after the county was organized. Direct federal aid appeared first in 1918-19 when seed and feed loans were made on a small scale.

The study demonstrates the value of the use of State Census schedules in the study of the permanency and origin of populations. Of 139 farmers in the county in 1895, only seven remained until 1935.

The source of the population of Haskell County was chiefly Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Missouri, and Iowa, listed in the order of magnitude of population provided. These and other states and countries represented furnished a population accustomed to intensive farming. Such cultural backgrounds plus the 160-acre homestead pattern made adjustments difficult. The school of experience has forced the enlargement of the units and brought about some adjustments, but the increase in nonresident or "suit-case" farmers and tenancy are real problems in an area where close attention must be given to farming

<sup>1</sup> A. D. Edwards, *Influence of Drought and Depression on a Rural Community, A Case Study in Haskell County, Kansas*, USDA SRR 7 (Washington, January, 1939). Multi-graphed, 116 pp.

techniques in order to prevent soil erosion. An area six miles square in which field interviews were made furnished the basis for intensive analysis and study. Tables from a Farm Security Administration study of living levels, a description of attitudes, and recommendations are included.

*Social Relationships and Institutions in an Established Rurban Community, South Holland, Illinois*<sup>2</sup> have withstood the impact of urbanization. Church and family ties are responsible for the ability of this village to retain its rural atmosphere in spite of its nearness (three miles) to Chicago.

Some of the phases of city life which the village refuses to accept are real-estate subdivisions, commercial amusements, golf courses, Sunday amusements, and saloons. The study shows that South Holland, one of the forty-two towns in South Cook County, is the only one relatively unaffected by urban influences.

With its population made up largely of descendants of Dutch settlers who came to the section in 1847-49, the village has clung to its Dutch heritage. The forms of its most abiding institutions—the family, the church, the school, and all economic endeavor—are deeply rooted in the culture of the Netherlands. The emigration of these Dutch Calvinists followed religious persecution which forced a search for religious freedom.

Four families in the village today comprise more than half the population. The family reunions, usually held in the summer, are attended by hundreds. Community solidarity and integration are the rule, and family disorganization is the exception.

Despite the community's strong stand against the ways of the city, the study shows that the young people are adopting urban customs and are speaking English instead of Dutch. "Probably three more generations will have expired before South Holland loses so much of its culture identity that it is submerged beneath the blanket of urbanism and industry that now covers that territory." There is a high percentage of farm ownership in the community which is known as the "home of the onion set," the principal cash crop.

Another community study received this quarter deals with Eureka, Illinois, a town of some 1,800 inhabitants, and is based upon data gathered by students in sociology classes.<sup>3</sup>

#### LOCAL GOVERNMENT

A study of *Local Government in Two Rural Ohio Counties*<sup>4</sup> involved an analysis of finances for the period from 1931 to 1936 and administrative organization of the school districts, villages, townships, and county units. Also,

<sup>2</sup> L. S. Dodson, *Social Relationships and Institutions in an Established Rurban Community, South Holland, Illinois*, USDA SRR 16 (Washington, February, 1939). Mimeographed, 55 pp.

<sup>3</sup> *Eureka, A Community Survey*, Eureka College Department of Sociology (Eureka, Illinois, 1938). Lithographed, 34 pp.

<sup>4</sup> H. R. Moore, *Local Government in Two Rural Ohio Counties*, Ohio AESB 597 (Wooster, November, 1938). 48 pp.

an attempt was made to obtain from the local people suggestions for improvement. The study indicated that as a rule the smaller schools have higher current operating costs per pupil than the larger schools. However, the continuance of the one-room school was dependent upon the isolation of some communities as well as the popular sentiment in some areas opposing centralization mainly on the grounds of increased cost. Farmers' opinions of local government are conservative with a tendency to favor the decentralized system which they believe will be less costly and more responsive to local needs than larger units. However, financial records indicate that some small townships have unduly high overhead costs because of the small volume of business. The rural people favor units smaller than the county, which points to a reorganization of townships to include area enough "to coincide approximately with the bounds of local social and economic interests" and furnish sufficient resources and population to support a fair volume of business. Although combining counties would lower the unit cost of services it would "increase the social cost of the people served" owing to increased distances. "A more workable plan is to combine functions in small counties under fewer officials and departments."

It is estimated<sup>5</sup> that if eight counties in the Cumberland Valley Region of Southeastern Kentucky were consolidated into two administrative units, government expenditures could be reduced from one fourth to one third. Recommended consolidations are based upon "similarities in land use and population, with due consideration given to financial data, public works and trade centers." The report making these recommendations differs from the Ohio study in that it discredits functional consolidation or co-operation between counties in the performance of functions. All arguments against county consolidation are thrown aside. Without an attitude study the claim that consolidation would strike at local pride is dismissed by saying that this is "entirely sentimental, and is being rapidly dissipated by the conditions of modern living, which give the average citizen a broader vision and interests that are wider than the confines of a small county." The report summarizes the literature on county consolidation and presents factual data relative to Kentucky counties.

In the urban government of this country are employed 1,250,000 persons. They constitute one third of all public employees, and one twentieth of all gainfully employed persons in the United States. Urban governments spent one twelfth of the total income, or four billion dollars, in 1932. A National Resources Committee report<sup>6</sup> analyzes the development of urban government. Four other bulletins which treat various phases of government have been received this quarter.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *County Consolidation*, Research Division, Kentucky Legislative Council in co-operation with the WPA Staff of the State Planning Board.

<sup>6</sup> *Urban Government*, Supplementary Report of the Urbanism Committee to the National Resources Committee (Washington, 1939). I, 303 pp.

<sup>7</sup> *The Adjustment of the Cost of Government to the Ability of Taxpayers to Pay*, The Dayton Research Association (Dayton, October, 1938). Mimeographed, 36 pp.



## FAMILY LIVING STUDIES

An analysis of *The Composition of Rural Households* in Genesee County, New York,<sup>8</sup> presents statistical data concerning size, type, and age. The study includes 2,039 farm and 886 nonfarm households. The reviewer finds the bulletin particularly significant in view of the increasing tendency of recent years to analyze family expenditures and incomes by family types in order to avoid some of the pitfalls involved in the various consumption scales, such as the adult male equivalent scale. The study demonstrates that no true picture of the stages of the life cycle of families is to be had from a mere classification of families by husband and wife and number of children, unless the age factor is considered. The household size with the largest percentage of persons is the five-person unit, which includes 17.3 per cent of all individuals.

Tschajanow, the great Russian agricultural economist, demonstrated that for his country the size and productivity of agricultural holding expanded during the life cycle of the family as the working force of the family increased. Japanese investigations<sup>9</sup> indicate some of the closest relationships to be found between the size of household and size of agricultural holdings. In Japan the available land is so limited, holdings so small, and custom so opposed to land transfers, that the amount of land available determines the size of the household. Correlation coefficients between size of holding and the size of the household as high as  $\pm .90$  are reported. Population pressure in Japan is so great that the only hope for increased levels of living is to be found in increased nonfarm employment.

A master's thesis<sup>10</sup> based primarily on an analysis of field schedules taken from fifty large French Catholic Acadian families who derived their livelihood from moss-picking, fishing, or trapping in St. Joseph Parish, Louisiana, depicts family and community life as characterized by great homogeneity and solidarity. The families, which were patriarchal in type, were poor in worldly goods but possessed many simple virtues, such as cleanliness, orderliness, religiosity, and devotion to home and community. Recreation, religious, and work activities were centered in the family. Most families said that if they were to become wealthy they would buy large farms, build substantial homes, and live in the same locality. All parents were opposed to having relatives live with them or living with relatives. Details concerning housing, occupations, incomes, mobility, origin of

*Cost of Government in Indiana*, Indiana Taxpayers Association (Indianapolis, December, 1938). Mimeographed, IV, 84 pp.

*Toward Competent Government*, American Municipal Association (Chicago, December, 1936). Mimeographed, 39 pp.

*Receipts and Expenditures of Oregon Counties, 1928-1937*, University of Oregon (Eugene, October, 1938). Mimeographed, 50 pp.

<sup>8</sup> W. A. Anderson, *The Composition of Rural Households*, Cornell University AESB 713 (Ithaca, February, 1939). 24 pp.

<sup>9</sup> Hidetoshi Isobe, *Labour Condition in Japanese Agriculture*, Utsunomiya Agricultural College, Section B (Utsunomiya, Nippon, 1937). II, 1, 88 pp.

<sup>10</sup> Rev. Herman Joseph Jacobi, *The Catholic Family in Rural Louisiana*, The Catholic University of America Monograph 8 (Washington, 1937). 126 pp.

grand- and great-grandparents, health, hygiene, births, deaths, marriage and other facts are included.

*The Farm-Housing Survey*<sup>11</sup> furnishes detailed information concerning 595,855 farm houses, their equipment and needs for improvement, in 308 counties in forty-six states as of 1934. The data were collected by women field workers under the supervision of the various state extension services and include information for 8.6 per cent of occupied farm houses in the United States.

Region, state, and county data concerning ownership, age, material of construction; number of stories, rooms, persons per room, unused rooms, bedrooms, closets, bathrooms, basements; types of water supply and sewage disposal, lighting, heating, refrigeration, cooking stoves, power washers; and condition of foundations, exterior walls, roofs, chimneys, doors and windows, screens, exterior paint, interior walls and ceilings, floors, and stairs are included. Also the reactions to the question "Would you be interested in borrowing money to finance construction, repairs or improvements provided interest rate is satisfactory and payments can be distributed over a period of ten years?" and average amounts desired are tabulated by regions, states, and counties. Of those answering the question, 22 per cent desired loans and 19.4 per cent indicated desires to borrow an average of \$464. Comparable data from 1930 and 1935 censuses indicate that the farm housing of the country as a whole is not so good as that reported in the survey which included houses located near urban centers.

*Housing Requirements of Farm Families in the United States*<sup>12</sup> have been described for fourteen regions. The study of functions of the farmhouse and prevailing opinions of farm-homemakers regarding various needs are reported by home demonstration agents and homemakers. The evaluation of sanitary facilities in descending order of preference for twenty items was made. The first five items were as follows: (1) a kitchen sink with a drain; (2) cold water piped to the kitchen sink, or a pump at the sink; (3) a bathtub with a drain; (4) cold water piped to the bathtub; and (5) a flush toilet.

*The Standard of Living on Carroll County Maryland Farms*<sup>13</sup> is appraised in a field investigation of seventy-two families, the average net cash income (\$1,399) of which was higher than that for the county. That the level of living is high is attested by the fact that the average expenditure for recreation and advancement was \$137, over two thirds of which went for organizations and education. Weekly food records indicated relatively good diets with only slight deficiencies in certain items. The value of nonpurchased goods and services consumed by the families was not treated.

<sup>11</sup> *The Farm-Housing Survey*, USDA BHE, Misc. Publication 323 (Washington, March, 1939). 42 pp.

<sup>12</sup> Maud Wilson, *Housing Requirements of Farm Families in the United States*, USDA 322 (Washington, February, 1939). 40 pp.

<sup>13</sup> Viola C. Teeter and Carl B. Smith, *Standard of Living on Carroll County Maryland Farms*, University of Maryland AESB 422 (College Park, October, 1938). 119 pp.

An analysis of *Living Standards of Filipino Families on an Hawaiian Sugar Plantation*<sup>14</sup> proves the importance of cultural and sociological considerations in level of living studies. Filipino men on the island far outnumbered the women. The 101 families included were not typical of sugar labor on the archipelago, having relatively lower total values of living (\$1,014) and being more recent arrivals than was generally the case. Among the findings which have sociological significance are the following: "The intense competition among the men for the favors of the greatly outnumbered women is reflected, even after marriage, in their expenditures of street clothes." ". . . the increase in food expenditures which follows an increase in income does not signify a relative improvement in diet." As income increased, diets were further unbalanced by increased expenditures for meats and starches. "In many families where there are no beds and inadequate bedclothing, one finds victrolas, radios, and several large, framed photographs which cost about \$18.00 apiece." Customary funeral rites were expensive. Superstitions often prevented administration of needed medical care, and families raised chickens even at a loss because they had done so in the Philippines and found prestige in their ownership.

The most important source of current farm family data for any rural group is the Farm Family Record Book kept by the Farm Security Administration borrowers with the assistance of the county home and farm supervisors. Preliminary analyses of these records are available for 1937 for Northern Minnesota,<sup>15</sup> Southern Minnesota,<sup>16</sup> Tennessee,<sup>17</sup> Nebraska,<sup>18</sup> Oklahoma,<sup>19</sup> New Mexico,<sup>20</sup> and Ohio.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Edna Clark Wentworth and Frederick Simpich, Jr., *Living Standards of Filipino Families on an Hawaiian Sugar Plantation*, American Council Institute of Pacific Relations (Honolulu, 1936). 40 pp.

<sup>15</sup> *Report of the Farm Management Service for Farmer-Borrowers of Rural Rehabilitation, FSA for the Year 1937*, University of Minnesota Report 103 (University Farm, St. Paul, July, 1938). Mimeographed, 18 pp.

<sup>16</sup> *Report of the Farm Management Service for Farmer-Borrowers of Rural Rehabilitation, FSA for the Year 1937*, University of Minnesota Report 102 (University Farm, St. Paul, July, 1938). Mimeographed, 18 pp.

<sup>17</sup> *Summary of Information from Farm Security, Farm and Home Records* (Tennessee, September, 1938). Mimeographed, 4 pp.

<sup>18</sup> *The Summary of Home Expenditure Records for 1102 Nebraska Rehabilitation Families*, University of Nebraska Ext. Circ. 1193 (Lincoln, 1937). Mimeographed, 4 pp.  
<sup>19</sup> *Analysis of the Summarization of 249 Farm Family Record Books of Nebraska Farm Security Borrowers from 1937*, University of Nebraska Ext. Circ. 1194 (Lincoln, 1938). Mimeographed, 10 pp.

<sup>20</sup> Bonnie Goodman, *Summary of Farm Family Record Books by Area-Type Farming*, Oklahoma A & M College (Stillwater, 1937). Mimeographed, 12 pp.

<sup>21</sup> *Home Management Report for Forty-six Eastern Oklahoma Farms on Farm Security Project RR-OK 17, 1937*, USDA FSA, Region VIII (Dallas, Texas, 1937). Mimeographed, 11 pp.

<sup>20</sup> *Home Account Summary for New Mexico, 1937*, New Mexico AES (State College, 1937). Mimeographed, 11 pp.

<sup>21</sup> Day Monroe and Maryland Y. Pennell, *Family Living of Farm Security Administration Borrowers in Ohio, 1935-37*, USDA (Washington, July, 1938). Mimeographed, 19 pp.

Better to understand *Native Standards of Living and African Cultural Change*,<sup>22</sup> an anthropological investigation of three institutions—cultivation, cattle keeping, and the chief's market—in the Ngoni Highlands of Nyasaland was made. The study indicated that "a purely quantitative assessment of consumption would not be adequate to answer the problem of how the standard of living could be raised. For this it was necessary to analyze the motives for consumption and incentives to production." Furthermore, there was no automatic reaction to environment since from the same natural resources local tribes created very different types of economy. Also, there was no uniform reaction to cultural change introduced by Europeans. Generally among the Ngoni, where the possession of cattle gives social status, security, religious, social and legal values, the "commercial attitude" toward cattle is resisted. Cultural change has been due principally to exodus for wage work, introduction of money, and teaching in schools and has resulted in the loss of the old economic solidarity and mutual dependence. These have raised the level of living somewhat, but there has been accompanying maladjustment and neglect of agricultural pursuits. Authorities who desire to raise the level of living should consider the sociopolitical as well as the economic element in the lives of the people.

*Roots of Poverty* is the title of a Virginia Experiment Station Report<sup>23</sup> which claims that

Over half of Virginia's rural families are marginal from the standpoint of income, education and living standards. Moreover, the marginal half is producing much more than half of the children. This situation demands as minimum corrective goals: (1) Closing the gap in birthrates between socioeconomic groups, (2) Decent housing with home conveniences, (3) Adequate medical care, (4) Freedom from excessive work on the part of women and children, (5) Possibility for savings and provision for security in times of stress, (6) Reasonable part in community life, (7) A fair start in life for children, including adequate food and good home atmosphere, and—The income and education needed to reach these goals.

In addition to rural level of living studies the most complete analysis of *Diets of Families of Employed Wage Earners and Clerical Workers in Cities* has been received.<sup>24</sup> The report is based upon the analysis of 4,000 one-week dietary records obtained during the period from December, 1934, to February, 1937, in forty-three industrial centers in eight major geographical regions in the United States. Most families spent from 25 to 40 per cent of their incomes for food. Rising expenditures for food, although increasing all purchases, brought the most pronounced increments of milk, butter, cream, eggs, meat, fruits, succulent vegetables, and the least for grain products, sugars, and fats other than butter and cream. Consumption of all fats was lowest among families in the North Atlantic cities and highest in the South.

<sup>22</sup> Margaret Read, *Native Standards of Living and African Cultural Change*, International Institute of African Languages and Cultures Memo. XVI (London, 1938). 56 pp.

<sup>23</sup> W. E. Garnett, Allen D. Edwards, and Charles Burr, *Roots of Poverty*, Virginia AESR 7 (Blacksburg, March, 1939). Mimeographed, 20 pp.

<sup>24</sup> Hazel K. Stiebeling and Esther F. Phipard, *Diets of Families of Employed Wage Earners and Clerical Workers in Cities*, USDA 507 (Washington, January, 1939). 141 pp.

The total value of family living for a group of Japanese families,<sup>25</sup> thirty-six of whom lived in Honolulu and eight in rural areas of Hawaii, was \$1,693, 30 per cent of which was allocated for food, 7 per cent for formal education, 6 per cent for automobiles, and 5 per cent for medical and dental care. Vitamins A and B and calcium were deficient in most of the diets, but diets were more satisfactory in the higher income brackets. Too much white rice and not enough foods containing vitamins and calcium are eaten.

A study of *Food, Health and Income*<sup>26</sup> for the United Kingdom concludes that the diets of the poorest group comprising four and one half million people, or 10 per cent of the population, were deficient in every constituent examined. The second and third groups comprising together eighteen million people had diets adequate in protein but deficient in vitamins and minerals. Complete adequacy was found only for the wealthier half of the population. Consumption of bread and potatoes is practically uniform for the different income levels, but the consumption of milk, eggs, fruit, vegetables, meat, and fish rises with incomes. "A review of the state of health of the people of the different groups suggests that as income increases, disease and death rates decrease, children grow more quickly, adult stature is greater, and general health and physique improve."

Also, the analysis of four-year budgets for four families and three-year budgets for two tenant-cultivator families in India was received.<sup>27</sup>

#### POPULATION MIGRATION

Estimates of North Dakota's population based upon school census data for 1930, 1935, and 1937 and federal census data for 1930, indicating decreases of 3.2 per cent from 1930 to 1935 and 7.5 per cent from 1935 to 1937, have been published in a State Planning Board report.<sup>28</sup> The report states that "much of the loss in population was from the agricultural class." "Readjustment is inevitable and an effort should be made to readjust matters within our state to retain the present population."

Farm abandonment and governmental purchase of farm land in the western part of the state will reduce the volume of trade except in irrigation centers. There some county seats may disappear and counties may need reorganization. In the eastern part of the state holdings are becoming smaller and trade volume greater.

For the state from 1920 to 1935 the centers which experienced the greatest

<sup>25</sup> Carey D. Miller, *A Study of the Dietary and Value of Living of 44 Japanese Families in Hawaii*, University of Hawaii Research Publ. 18 (Honolulu, December, 1938). 27 pp.

<sup>26</sup> John Boyd Orr, *Food, Health and Income*, 2nd ed. (London, 1937). 82 pp.

<sup>27</sup> Labh Singh and Ajaib Singh, *Family Budgets, 1935-36, of Six Tenant-Cultivators in the Lyallpur District*, The Board of Economic Inquiry Publication 59 (Punjab, India, 1938). 38 pp.

<sup>28</sup> *Trade Centers in North Dakota*, State Planning Board (Bismark, January, 1939). Mimeographed, 244 pp.



population loss were those small villages of less than fifty inhabitants and places between two hundred and a thousand. The cities of over five thousand or more population continuously increased in size.

The Michigan Census of Population and Unemployment covering the period 1930 to 1935 provides information concerning migration during the decline and the first stages of improvement in economic activity. *Michigan Migrants*,<sup>20</sup> a study based upon 120,247 schedules constituting approximately 23 per cent of the census schedules presents information relative to the personal characteristics of workers who moved during the survey period. The study reports that male agricultural workers, especially farm laborers, were more mobile than nonagricultural workers. However, agricultural female workers were less mobile than the nonagricultural female workers. Professional persons were more mobile than proprietors and clerical workers; this was due in large measure to the low mobility of female clerical workers.

Among manual workers the highest mobility was associated with the lowest level of skill. Since mobility decreases with age, this may be due in part to the greater age of the more skilled workers, but it is also probably due to the greater insecurity of the less skilled. Also the "data indicate that for both males and females family support was a stabilizing influence." Mobility rates were highest among persons who had started but not completed high school. Data concerning age and marital status of migrants making rural-urban, urban-rural, urban-urban, or rural-rural moves are given. Studies from the same materials are cited as having demonstrated that relief and mobility had a common cause in unemployment; that moves of persons who received public assistance seldom had any immediate connection with relief; that unemployed workers did not "shop around" to get the most liberal relief grants; that the most mobile workers were those who usually worked in the extractive industries, such as forestry and mining; and that during the depression there was a pronounced movement of industrial workers into agriculture followed by the reversal of this trend during the period of business improvement.

The many migrants to Cincinnati from the mountain areas of Kentucky, Tennessee, and West Virginia are faced with next to impossible adjustments—adjustments which in times past confronted the migrants from foreign countries. These more recent migrants are handicapped by educational attainments far inferior to those of the natives of the city, and their lack of influential contacts and understanding of city ways has secured for them jobs relatively low in the occupational scale. These migrants have frequently served as "scabs," and their clannishness has prevented their assimilation. However, the depression has slowed up this stream of migrants and the less recent arrivals are being integrated into the social and economic structure of the city. These and many other facts concerning assimilation of migrants, population growth, and composition and

<sup>20</sup> Albert Westefeld, *Michigan Migrants*, Division of Research, WPA (Washington, March, 1939). Mimeographed, 35 pp.

religious affiliation of Cincinnati citizens are revealed in a special analysis<sup>30</sup> of a 1935 census financed by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and the Works Progress Administration.

More than 285,000 individuals entering California by motor vehicle "in need of manual employment," many of whom had been blown out in the dust bowl or otherwise displaced, were counted at the border plant control stations from July 1, 1935, to the end of 1938. The indigent among these people, who because they were not established California residents of at least one year's standing were not eligible for assistance from the State Relief Administration, have welcomed the emergency grants of the Farm Security Administration made available February, 1938, for needy farm laborers and other farm classes of less than one year's residence. During the eight-month period, February through September, 1938, 15,410 households received such grants. Of this number 12,032 cases were closed on October 1, 1938, when the demand for harvest workers was great. From the records of the closed cases *A Study of 6655 Migrant Households in California, 1938*<sup>31</sup> has been made. Among the findings of the study are the following:

1. Three fourths of the group came from four states, Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, and Missouri. Two fifths, or 2,771, came from Oklahoma alone.
2. Maps indicating original homes of migrants demonstrate definite clusters or small areas of density composed of single or groups of counties.
3. Although the reason for migration reported by the greater percentage of migrants from Oklahoma and Missouri was drought, for Texas and all Mountain Pacific States it was "lack of work." Curiously enough counties in the Great Plains from which the largest number of households had come were not the counties of greatest drought intensity during 1934 and 1936. Possible explanations are that, on the one hand, migrations may have begun earlier in counties where drought intensity was not greatest and, on the other hand, heavier relief payments may have deterred migration from counties where the drought was worst. Also, machinery, as well as general soil destruction, and the breakdown of tenancy, all important causes, may have played more important rôles than the migrants themselves realized when they gave the information.
4. States in the path of the westward migration, particularly Arizona, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Colorado, and New Mexico, furnished temporary residence for many of the migrants.
5. Almost one half of the migrants had lived for twenty years or longer and only 17 per cent had resided less than five years in the states from which they came.
6. Nearly 88 per cent of the households gave farming as their chief occupa-

<sup>30</sup> Warren S. Thompson and P. K. Whelpton, *The Population of Hamilton County, Ohio, in 1935*, The Cincinnati Employment Center (Cincinnati, 1937). Mimeographed, I, 118 pp.; II, 253 pp.

<sup>31</sup> *A Study of 6655 Migrant Households in California, 1938*, FSA (San Francisco, January, 1939). 144 pp.

tion, and of these 67.8 per cent were laborers, 17.7 per cent tenants, 10.8 per cent sharecroppers, 3.7 per cent owners.

7. During 1937 migrant heads had worked an average (median) of six months.

In addition to the above mentioned bulletins on population, the *Proceedings of the First Mid-Western Conference on Rural Population Research* has been received this quarter.<sup>82</sup>

#### RELIEF

*Five Years of Rural Relief*,<sup>83</sup> a Works Progress Administration report based upon a survey made in 385 representative counties and townships in thirty-six states, emphasizes the importance of the Social Security Program in meeting the relief needs of rural and town areas in the United States. The study covers monthly expenditures and caseloads from 1932 through 1936 for five major types of aid—public general assistance; public veterans' assistance; public aid to the aged, to the blind, and to dependent children; Resettlement emergency grants; and private assistance. For the five years expenditures for these types of assistance totaled more than one and a fifth billion dollars, rising steadily from about \$80,000,000 in 1932 to almost \$400,000,000 in 1935. There was a drop of almost 50 per cent in total expenditures from 1935 to 1936.

During the first four years of the period surveyed, public general assistance was the most important type of relief, mounting to more than nine tenths of the total expenditures in 1934. In 1936, however, as a result both of the cessation of FERA funds and of the release of funds under the Social Security Act, public aid to the aged, to the blind, and to dependent children became the most important type of assistance, accounting for 45 per cent of the total rural and town expenditures. In the later months of the year this type of assistance accounted for almost 60 per cent of the total.

The trend of public general assistance closely followed that for total relief during the first four years of the survey, but declined more rapidly during 1936. Special assistance to veterans was of most importance in 1932. In each of the five years, more than three fourths of the total annual expenditures for this purpose were made in twelve Southern States.

Resettlement emergency grants were not initiated until November, 1935, and reached their peak expenditure in the following January. They then declined rapidly through July, after which the drought caused an increased demand. The major part of the expenditures for the emergency grant program was in nine Great Plains States, which had not yet recovered from former drought years when they were again desolated in 1936. The number of cases assisted under the Resettlement emergency grant program increased or declined with the fluctuations in farm distress. Trends in the other forms of assistance are described in detail.

<sup>82</sup> *Proceedings of the First Mid-Western Conference on Rural Population Research*, University of Missouri AES (Columbia, April, 1937). Mimeographed, 27 pp.

<sup>83</sup> Waller Wynne, Jr., *Five Years of Rural Relief*, WPA (Washington, 1938). 160 pp.

Average monthly benefits per case for public general assistance rose from a low of \$9.50 in 1933 to a high of \$16.20 in 1935, declining in 1936 with the cessation of Federal funds for general relief. The effect of funds provided under the Social Security Program was seen in the fact that the highest average benefits to the aged, to the blind, and to dependent children were reported in the closing months of 1936. With the exception of 1932, average monthly benefits per case were higher throughout the five-year period for aid to the blind than for aid either to the aged or to dependent children. Benefits paid under the Resettlement emergency grant program reflected seasonal variations in relief needs, being highest during the winter months and declining during the spring and summer.

Workers who had been separated from W. P. A. during survey periods in 1937 were less successful in finding adequate incomes from other sources than those separated during the 1936 periods.<sup>84</sup> This is to be explained in part by the fact that relatively more workers were separated for administrative reasons necessitated by restricted appropriations in 1937 than in 1936. Another explanation of the relatively poor economic situation of separated workers in 1937 was the decline in business activity during the latter half of the year.

The W.P.A. workers were on the average two years older in 1936 than in June, 1937. However, the average age of N.Y.A. and C.C.C. workers remained about the same.<sup>85</sup>

A summary report of the organization, scope, and results of the *Plan for Cooperative Rural Research*<sup>86</sup> of the Division of Social Research of the Works Progress Administration has been prepared.

Publications based on data collected under the co-operative plan include research monographs, special reports, and bulletins by the Washington staff and more than two hundred state publications. At one time or another forty-one states have been included within the co-operative plan.

Supplementary materials included in the report are a list of the more important federal publications, brief descriptions of the various federal rural relief surveys, a table showing the states in which the various federal surveys were conducted, a subject bibliography of state bulletins, and a table of state projects conducted under the Plan for Co-operative Rural Research.

The *Rural Relief Trends in Wisconsin*<sup>87</sup> including data from eight sample counties and the state as a whole, emphasizing four periods from October, 1934, to November, 1936, and including general relief, Works Progress Administration employment, Social Security assistance to aged, blind, and to dependent

<sup>84</sup> Verl E. Roberts, *Survey of Workers Separated from W.P.A. Employment in Nine Areas, 1937*, WPA (Washington, 1938). 22 pp.

<sup>85</sup> R. Nassimbene, *Age of W.P.A. Workers, November 1937*, WPA (Washington, 1938). 20 pp.

<sup>86</sup> S. H. Hobbs, Jr., Irene Link, and Ellen Winston, *Plan for Cooperative Rural Research*, WPA SR, II, 17 (Washington, 1938). Mimeographed, 56 pp.

<sup>87</sup> George W. Hill and Ronald A. Smith, *Rural Relief Trends in Wisconsin*, University of Wisconsin (Madison, 1939). 57 pp.

children, and Farm Security Administration emergency grants to needy farmers, have been described.

Throughout the period, from 69 to 82 per cent of the heads of families on relief in the state were other than farmers. Even in the open country not more than 50 per cent of the family heads were farmers. Unskilled labor constituted from 40 to 50 per cent of the total number of family heads during the period. Of these unskilled workers 20 to 33 per cent were farm laborers. After June, 1935, the proportion of skilled workers decreased, having been absorbed into private industry and the Works Program. Town cases received more aid than did open-country cases, partly because of higher living costs in cities and partly because open-country residents could be expected to provide part of their food and fuel.

Due partly to rising farm-purchasing power, average emergency subsistence grants by the Farm Security Administration declined in Wisconsin, whereas for the nation the trend was upward. A real problem is presented by persons who are not real farmers but who after losing their jobs have used their farms as homes, being supported by relief grants.

#### LAND TENURE AND SETTLEMENT

A survey<sup>88</sup> of 235 southern Iowa farm tenants living in areas having many small as well as many corporation-owned farms suffering from severe soil erosion indicates that the customary crop-share leases were most extensively used, followed in order by cash and stock-share leases. Eighty per cent of those tenants who were thirty years of age or less stated that they expected to own a farm of their own at some future time. Only 47 per cent of the tenants thirty-one years of age or more anticipated ownership. Thirty-eight per cent of all the tenants had owned farms in the past. The best land use from the point of view of conservation was found on the farms of the tenants who were related to their landlords, poorest on those of private non-related landlords, and intermediate use on corporate-owned farms. The most conservative land use was found on stock-share farms; the most exploitive on cash-rent farms, which are commonly small ones located on poor and rolling lands leased by frequently shifting tenants. One-year leases were customary, although two thirds of the tenants expressed a preference for long-term leases of five or more years. Most tenants had not considered arrangements other than those in effect at present. Rather than attempt to get these changed they would probably move.

*What Landowners and Tenants are Thinking of the Farm Landlord-Tenant Relationship Situation in Oklahoma, 1938*,<sup>89</sup> is reported in a summary of 1,700 questionnaires mailed to 4,300 farm landlords, tenants, and other interested

<sup>88</sup> A. J. Englehorn, *Farm Tenure in Iowa, VI. Landlord-Tenant Relationships in Southern Iowa*, Iowa AESB 372 (Ames, August, 1938). 93 pp.

<sup>89</sup> *What Landowners and Tenants are Thinking of the Farm Landlord-Tenant Relationship Situation in Oklahoma, 1938*, Oklahoma A & M College (Stillwater, 1938). Mimeographed, 53 pp.



persons who had been contacted by means of personal interviews, hearings, meetings, or correspondence.

Analysis of 1,323 field records taken from part-time and garden-tract operators<sup>40</sup> located in the ten Willamette Valley industrial counties in Oregon, in which according to census reports 41 per cent of all farm operators of the whole area had supplemental employment amounting to an average of 127 days, indicated a \$245 net value of farm products and use of dwelling after deducting the cash operating expense of \$152. This amounted to 29 per cent of the net family income. The average size of the 1,110 tracts owned by the operators was 6.2 acres which, with buildings, machinery, and livestock, was valued at \$3,116. One third of the owners had purchased tracts of bare land on which they had later added buildings.

"The nature of the off-farm work followed by the part-time farmers studied, reflects that they and their families were individually integrated members of the community, differing in no significant respects from their neighbors either in town or country."

Since the operators of these part-time units made small agricultural incomes, and since the major items of expense were for feed purchased from full-time farm neighbors, their operations were adjudged to be more complementary than competitive. Had these operators lived in town their proportionally limited purchasing power would have limited their purchase of farm products. Their operations increased their net incomes and gave them better diets.

In conclusion, it was stated that "inasmuch as this mode of living enables workers to become more nearly self-sustaining and therefore self-respecting members of the community, it is an important helpful influence in the national economy and deserves the attention of state and federal agencies."

If the large estates of one of the minor civil divisions of East Prussia were to be divided up into the optimum-sized units to be operated by families of seven persons with small holdings for agricultural laborers and artisans, the population would be increased by 7.77 per cent. It is claimed that such increases for the East of Germany are desirable from an economic, social, and political point of view.<sup>41</sup>

#### FARM LABOR

*Social Problems in Agriculture*<sup>42</sup> is a publication containing the agenda and reports prepared by the International Labour Office and a digest of the proceedings and other reports of the first meeting of the Permanent Agricultural

<sup>40</sup> Gustav Wesley Kuhlman, *Some Economic Aspects of Small-Scale Farming in Oregon with Special Reference to Part-Time Farming in the Willamette Valley Region*, University of Illinois (Urbana, 1938). 15 pp.

<sup>41</sup> Joseph Przeperski, *Auswertung der bodenkundlichen Kartierung für agrar- und bevölkerungspolitische Untersuchungen, gezeigt an dem ostpreussischen Landkreis Stuhm* (Würzburg, Germany, 1937). 38 pp.

<sup>42</sup> *Social Problems in Agriculture*, Studies & Reports K, 14, International Labour Office (Washington, 1938). 162 pp.

Committee held in Geneva in 1938. Among the subjects accorded special consideration were conditions and regulations of hours of work, holidays with pay, child labor, and wages for the countries of the world.

It is reported that in the world there are some 865,000,000 persons "gainfully employed." Of these, 550,000,000 persons are "gainfully employed" in agriculture. "Thus agriculture represents more than 60 per cent of the economic activities of mankind." However, "since not more than about 15 per cent of those engaged in agriculture are wage-paid employees the welfare of the smaller farm operator is of outstanding importance." Also it was stated that whereas there had previously been the tendency to view such agriculturists as share tenants, and sharecroppers as tenants, there is now a growing tendency to classify these groups with paid laborers, and as such they become subject to social legislation for the improvement of employment and working conditions.

In some countries there is reported a rural exodus resulting in an agricultural labor shortage. Also, "in view of the fact that agriculture employs to an abnormal extent young labor it feels the effects of the declining birth rate more rapidly than any other occupation." Some countries reported that it was a "lack of rural exodus which was the problem" created by increased mechanization and population pressure, or both.

Messrs. Lowry Nelson and J. F. Booth, from the United States and Canada respectively, indicated the importance of the displacement of agriculturists by mechanization and rationalization of agriculture. It was proposed by the conference that this development be made a special subject of investigation and report.

In the report on child labor it was stated that in the United States 70 per cent of all the children gainfully employed in all occupations were employed in agriculture.

*Farm Labor Conditions in Gloucester, Hunterdon, and Monmouth Counties, New Jersey, April-May, 1936*,<sup>43</sup> are revealed in a study of one fourth of the farms in the counties, most of which were dairy, truck, and general farms. The chief increase during the harvest season was made up of hired laborers which increased from the 924 employed during the slack season to 3,100 employed during the rush period, a 235 per cent increase. Over 1,500 laborers were interviewed, of which one third were relatives of their employers, three fifths were unmarried, seventeen out of twenty were white, and fifteen out of sixteen were males.

*A Survey of Farm Placement in Texas, 1936 and 1937*,<sup>44</sup> dramatically describes the activities of the Texas State Employment Service affiliated with the United States Employment Service under the Department of Labor. Through investigations into the labor requirements and supply, the placement facilities

<sup>43</sup> Josiah C. Folsom, *Farm Labor Conditions in Gloucester, Hunterdon, and Monmouth Counties, New Jersey, April-May, 1936*, USDA BAE (Washington, February, 1939). Mimeographed, 51 pp.

<sup>44</sup> *Survey of Farm Placement in Texas, 1936 and 1937*, Texas State Employment Service (Austin, May, 1938). Mimeographed, 91 pp.

assures farmers an ample supply of labor, and workers are protected from false advertising which has in the past frequently resulted in excessive migration into specialized crop areas. The service also promotes the building of "concentration camps" and through other means attempts to prevent occurrences such as that of the 1935 Lubbock cotton-picking "episode" resulting from exaggerated reports of large cotton yields which brought hundreds of Mexican laborers' families to an area where there were few housing and other facilities to protect them from a cold rain and exposure, thus bringing death to many children.

The activities of the labor contractor, who "with the growth of absentee ownership, and mass production in Texas" became "an indispensable cog in the wheel of production," are also described. These contractors who own trucks and transport laborers often contract to harvest a crop and deliver it, receiving their payments for hauling the product. Many Mexican contractors hire their countrymen, who seldom speak English, for "around \$0.75 and \$1.00 a day," keeping them in "a mild state of peonage."

The great diversity of farm products concentrated in specialized crop areas allows for a "cycle of agricultural activity" characterized by peaks in employment and migratory workers, but the Service maintains that it can provide year "around work for an estimated 50 per cent." The report states that migratory workers are 85 per cent Mexican and 5 per cent Negro. The labor requirements and placements of the various crop areas of the state are described.

*Migratory-Casual Workers in New Mexico*<sup>45</sup> are for the most part employed in cotton, broomcorn, and green pea fields. Of 235 households which were contacted by personal interview the median annual earnings of those for which data on the annual basis were available was \$344 for unattached households, and \$461 for family groups of between four and five members. The principal mode of transportation of unattached workers was "hitchhiking"; of family households, by personally owned automobiles. Of the 108 households which had been migrants during all of 1937, 15 per cent received relief; of the 127 households which had been migratory only part of the year, 30 per cent had received relief. One third of all households heads had been born in Texas, about one fourth in Oklahoma, and slightly over one seventh in Arkansas.

#### THE RURAL RADIO AND NEWSPAPERS

The contents of thirty-five Michigan weekly newspapers have been classified and measured to obtain an index of the range and intensity of interest in community affairs. "This study<sup>46</sup> shows that, although residents in rural communities have a great variety of interests pertaining to their community, those relating to personal affairs and personal relationships are the dominant ones. Considerably

<sup>45</sup> Sigurd Johansen, *Migratory-Casual Workers in New Mexico*, New Mexico AESB 870 (State College, March, 1939). Mimeographed, 49 pp.

<sup>46</sup> C. R. Hoffer, *Interests of Rural People as Portrayed in Weekly Newspapers*, Michigan AESB 298 (East Lansing, February, 1939). 30 pp.

more space was devoted to neighborhood and personal news than to any other topic pertaining to the community."

The *Iowa Rural Radio Listener Survey, 1938*<sup>47</sup> was based upon personal interviews made in forty-four counties with 5,771 families, 65 per cent of whom lived on farms, and 36 per cent in small towns under 2,500 population. Among the findings reported are the following: (1) Eighty-eight per cent of the farm families and 92 per cent of the town families had radios—figures higher than the most recent census data indicate. (2) Fifty per cent of the farm and one-third of the town families interviewed had purchased new sets in the past two years. (3) Most farm sets (57 per cent) were located in the kitchen and dining room, whereas most town sets (71 per cent) were located elsewhere, usually in the living room. (4) The most frequently preferred of ten types of radio programs for all four groups of adults was news broadcasts. Market reports were a close second for farm men, but were of little interest to adults in town. (5) Women and children preferred serial dramas much more frequently than men. (6) For children thirteen to eighteen of both sexes, comedians and popular music were the most preferred programs. (7) "The rating given religious music by girls was only half as great as that given by their mothers." (8) For farm families classical music was among the types of programs least frequently preferred. Town families gave classical music a somewhat higher preference rating. (9) Of the families stating whether they depended more on radio or newspaper for news of national importance, 72 per cent answered that they depended more on the radio. This is significant in view of the fact that of all owners of receiving sets 86 per cent took at least one daily paper. (10) The most common complaints concerning the favorite station involved either the quantity or quality of advertising.

#### RURAL YOUTH

A study of farm youth was made from the data which had been collected by the American Youth Commission and interpreted, with limited attention to place of residence, in *Rural Youth Speak*.<sup>48</sup> "The findings presented portray a picture which may be helpful to rural young people themselves as well as adults who are interested in knowing the situations faced by them."

#### EDUCATION AND TRAINING

A survey of *Vocational Education and Guidance of Negroes*<sup>49</sup> included analyses of educational courses, facilities and students of 207 high schools, 43 institutions of higher learning, as well as social agencies, proprietary schools, and other agencies and institutions.

<sup>47</sup> H. B. Summers, *Iowa Rural Radio Listener Survey 1938*, Kansas State College (Manhattan, 1938). Mimeographed, 36 pp.

<sup>48</sup> Joseph J. Lister and E. L. Kirkpatrick, *Rural Youth Speak*, AYC (Washington, February, 1939). Mimeographed, 96 pp.

<sup>49</sup> Ambrose Caliver, *Vocational Education and Guidance of Negroes*, U. S. Dept. of Interior Bulletin 38 (Washington, 1937). 137 pp.

In 1910, 1920, and 1930 respectively, 56, 66, and 72 per cent of all Negroes lived in rural areas. From 1920 to 1930 the Negro farm population of the nation decreased 6 per cent; the number of Negro-operated farms, 5 per cent; the number of acres in farms operated by Negroes, 9 per cent; and the number of Negro farm owners, 17 per cent. White farms during the same decade increased in number and size. In 1930 21 per cent of the rural nonfarm and 23 per cent of the rural Negro farm population were illiterate, as compared with 9 per cent of the urban Negro population. About 90 per cent of the Negro school population in Georgia settled down on farms after completing only the sixth grade. Thus in agriculture there is need for training and vocational guidance of overage Negroes in rural areas.

It was concluded that

improvement in the education of Negroes for effective occupational adjustment is largely dependent on improvement of general education. For example, there should be reduction of illiteracy, increase in school facilities, increase in the ability of schools to hold pupils, reduction of the number of pupils overage for their grades, and an enrichment of the curriculum and extracurriculum offerings.

Findings and recommendations touch all phases of negro education.

*A Survey of Rural Education in North Dakota*<sup>50</sup> furnishes data concerning the population, school administration, finance, instruction, and enrollment in nine representative counties. In most of the counties the federal and school census indicate population decreases, but the school enrollment has decreased even more since 1920. This is explained by the increased proportion of graduates from elementary schools who lack opportunities to continue their education. Forty-six per cent of the eighth grade graduates from 1924 to 1934 were from one-room schools. School attendance of the students enrolled has increased during the ten years preceding 1935. In the state there are 592 school houses, mostly one-teacher schools, not in use at the present time because of insufficient enrollments. "The mania for tax reduction has been carried to the extreme in some counties, especially those counties" with large foreign elements in their population. The consolidation movement, so aggressive two decades ago, is making no gain. In western portions of the state sparsity of settlement renders complete transportation systems impossible. It is recommended that the state, which has recently enacted a school fund equalization, change from the district to the county unit system of school administration.

From a report<sup>51</sup> resulting from the analysis of 1,000 mailed questionnaires returned (1,500 were sent out) by Washington technical and administrative staff members of the U. S. Department of Agriculture and the college catalogs of fifty-one agricultural colleges, the following conclusions are drawn: (1) College students should be given the opportunity and probably be required to take

<sup>50</sup> J. A. McCrae, *Survey of Rural Education in North Dakota*, North Dakota FERA (Fargo, 1936). Mimeographed, 45 pp.

<sup>51</sup> *Career Training for Agriculture*, A report to the Committee on Career Training for Agriculture, USDA (Washington, 1938). 25 pp.



more work in the basic sciences, such as mathematics, statistics, physics, chemistry, and the branches of biology; foreign languages; public administration; social science; and organization and work in report writing and public speaking in training for technical and administrative work in agriculture. (2) "Practical" courses should not dominate the curriculum to the extent that broader social and economic considerations are omitted. (3) Only about one seventh of all courses offered by the agricultural colleges, small and large, are "economics, other social studies, English and literature." (4) When the social and literary subjects are weighted by the number of students enrolled in them, social and literary subjects amounted to 21.5 per cent of the required courses.

Fifty-nine per cent of the white and 88 per cent of the Negro extension workers in the United States have had courses in sociology, including rural sociology, during their undergraduate work. Of the total undergraduate training time for extension workers, three per cent was given to sociology. Eight per cent of the workers stated that sociology had been more helpful than any other subject taken in college, and eighteen per cent ranked sociology as first among the disciplines which should have received more emphasis in undergraduate work. Home demonstration and 4-H Club county agents had more training in and placed a higher value upon sociology as a discipline than did agricultural county agents.

A survey<sup>52</sup> of 7,873 extension employees, undertaken to furnish educational agencies, especially land-grant colleges, with information concerning the training and disciplines which the personnel engaged in extension work have found a need for, suggests that many institutions should make changes in their present curricula.

A study of *The Extent of Equalization Secured through State School Funds*<sup>53</sup> reports that state aid in most states is not so distributed as to equalize educational opportunities adequately. Rural and poor counties do not receive their just share. Financial aid to education, at least in the South, is largely a rural problem. In Southern States counties having large percentages of farm population have fewer tax resources available per child than counties having relatively less farm population. However, assessed valuation imputes to poorer counties ability which on the basis of income they do not possess.

The income per child 5 to 17 years of age of the nonfarm population is, for the country as a whole, more than four times larger than that per child of the farm population. In some States the ratio is 5, and in one State, 6 to 1. In no State except California does the income per child of the farm population approximate the income per child of the nonfarm population.

Any program of aid designed to place funds where they are most needed will give a large measure of relief to the farm population.

<sup>52</sup> M. C. Wilson and Lucinda Crile, *Preparation and Training of Extension Workers*, 1938, USDA Ext. Circ. 295 (Washington, November, 1938). Mimeographed, 43 pp.

<sup>53</sup> Newton Edwards and Herman G. Richey, *The Extent of Equalization Secured through State School Funds*, The Advisory Committee on Education Staff Study 6 (Washington, 1938). 55 pp.

*Principles and Methods of Distributing Federal Aid for Education*<sup>54</sup> have been devised by the Advisory Committee on Education and take these facts and many others into consideration.

As of March 31, 1938, the federal government had expended \$708,933,756 for *Educational Activities of the Works Progress Administration*.<sup>55</sup> The largest sums were expended for the construction and improvement of educational and recreational facilities. Other large funds have been expended on such projects as the Division of Women's and Professional Projects. A complete analysis and appraisal of the wide range of educational programs of W.P.A. has been prepared by the Advisory Committee on Education.

#### MISCELLANEOUS

Only 1.25 per cent of the population of Argentina is indigenous as compared with 75 per cent for Peru and Ecuador. Education of the Argentinian Indian children should be adjusted to their psychological and social environment. Their subjugation has had its effects but they still retain racial pride.<sup>56</sup>

*The Agricultural Depression in Finland During the Years 1928-35*<sup>57</sup> resulted in the lowering of the agricultural income on normally organized farms to about one fifth of what it was during the "good period." However, the general profitability of agriculture in the country during recent years has been better than in the Scandinavian and Baltic countries. "The middle-sized peasant farms have weathered the depression most successfully with their many-sided agriculture, high degree of self-support and sufficiency of work on their own farms." Whereas in 1910, 43 per cent of the holdings were leased by their operators, the acquisition program has resulted in the reduction of the number of tenants to only 5.5 per cent of the entire agricultural population. Agricultural wages have increased, which is important to the farm laborers who constitute almost one third of the agricultural population. For these and youth, 4,880 new holdings have been founded chiefly from reclaimed land. Some 2,000 settled farms can be established annually in the future. "There is scarcely any other country where so many peasant homes have been preserved for centuries in the same family as is the case in Finland." Several hundred diplomas have been granted to farmers whose families have owned the same farm for at least two hundred years.

<sup>54</sup> Paul R. Mort, Eugene S. Lawler, et al., *Principles and Methods of Distributing Federal Aid for Education*, The Advisory Committee on Education Staff Study 5 (Washington, 1939). 99 pp.

Lloyd E. Blauch and William L. Iversen, *Education of Children on Federal Reservations*, The Advisory Committee on Education Staff Study 17 (Washington, 1939). 145 pp.

<sup>55</sup> Doak S. Campbell, Frederick H. Bair, and Oswald L. Harvey, *Educational Activities of the Works Progress Administration*, The Advisory Committee on Education Staff Study 14 (Washington, 1939). 185 pp.

<sup>56</sup> Rosa B. Cruz Arenas, *Contribucion al Estudio del Desenvolvimiento y Evolucion Espiritual del Indio Argentino*, Ministerio del Interior, Publication 3 (Buenos Aires, 1935). 127 pp.

<sup>57</sup> K. T. Jutila, *The Agricultural Depression in Finland During the Years 1928-35*, Ministry of Agriculture in Finland, Publ. 18 (Helsinki, Suomi, 1937). 73 pp.

A study of the effects which homestead exemptions of various amounts would have upon assessed valuations in five Kansas counties leads to the conclusion that reductions would be greater in small cities than in rural communities because of the greater value of the average unit in the country. Data concerning the provisions of homestead tax exemption provisions of fifteen states is included in a Kansas State Planning Board report.<sup>58</sup>

The German peasantry, the Reich's agricultural and market department and organization are discussed in a German publication.<sup>59</sup> With characteristic Nazi idealism the old order is described as Jewish liberalism which attempted to fit the farm enterprise with its land and family into classical economic thinking. This old philosophy was eating the heart out of all the cultural values most dear to the German people. Nazism brought the people to their senses so that land is no longer a mere goods on the market and the peasant a laborer or entrepreneur. Now the peasantry is the backbone of the nation conserving the permanent values of those phases of culture and racial stock worth keeping. The four-year plan, the place of agriculture in the national economy, and the Reichsnährstand are described in detail.

In addition the following bulletins have been received:

- George S. Monney, *Cooperatives Today and Tomorrow*, Prepared for the Canadian Survey Committee (Montreal, 1938). 189 pp.
- David Cushman Coyle, *Rural Youth*, NYA Social Problem No. 2 (Washington, 1939). 35 pp.
- Building Rural Leadership*, USDA Extension Service (Washington, January, 1939). 76 pp.
- John Dale Russell, et al., *Vocational Education*, The Advisory Committee on Education Staff Study 8 (Washington, 1938). 325 pp.
- Helping Farm Families Help Themselves*, Oklahoma 24th Annual Report of the Extension Division, Oklahoma A & M College (Stillwater, 1938). 130 pp.
- M. M. Daugherty, *Studies in Taxation in Delaware, the Cost of State Government 1924 to 1937*, Delaware AESB 211 (Newark, June, 1938): 101 pp.
- The Federal Government and Education*, The Advisory Committee on Education (Washington, 1938). 31 pp.
- Report of the Secretary of Agriculture, 1938*, USDA (Washington, 1938). 160 pp.
- R. H. Fletcher, *The Family Living Derived from the Farm*, West Virginia AESB 31 (Morgantown, June, 1938). Mimeographed, 68 pp.
- Basil E. Gilbert, *A Study of Land Utilization in Newport and Bristol Counties, Rhode Island*, Rhode Island AESB 268 (Kingston, July, 1938). 40 pp.

<sup>58</sup> *The Effects of Homestead Exemption on Assessed Valuations*, Kansas State Planning Board (Topeka, February, 1939). Mimeographed, 14 pp.

<sup>59</sup> Ludwig Haberlein, *Das Verhaeltnis von Staat und Wirtschaft*, (Band 1: "Staat und Wirtschaft"; Band 2: "Bauerntum, Reichsnährstand und landwirtschaftliche Marktordnung") (Berlin, 1938). 263, 143 pp.

## Book Reviews

Carle C. Zimmerman, Editor

*American Regionalism: A Cultural-Historical Approach to National Integration.*

By Howard W. Odum and Harry Estill Moore. New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1938. x, 693 pp. \$3.00.

The authors' major premise is that regionalism is a key to intraregional adjustment and national integration, and they have done a genuine service in summarizing the mass of regional material. Incidentally this array of ideas presented by geographers, historians, economists, anthropologists, sociologists is an excellent commentary on the artificiality of the boundaries between the fields of social science. The reader is strongly impressed with the fact that the essential reality of the concepts under discussion are the same but they are viewed from different angles, treated with somewhat different methods and usually described in different language. This multiple use of words to describe the same phenomenon often bids fair to make a Tower of Babel out of the elaborate researches in social science. For instance, in the phenomenon under discussion—the extent of unity of cultures within definite areas—the terms *section*, *region*, *area* are used to designate pretty much the same central concept, but connote a somewhat different emphasis on the various aspects of the problems.

Odum and Moore especially attempt to contrast regionalism and sectionalism, whereas the reviewer feels that when the historian says *section*, the sociologist *region*, and the anthropologist *culture area*, they are talking about the same thing. The attempt to make the sectionalist out as entirely selfish and the regionalist as an ideal citizen of an integrated nation seems an artificial method of taking a "holier than thou" position.

Perhaps sectional historians in the past have emphasized disunion rather than union, but this is merely because the historian of the past was more preoccupied with clash and conflict than with co-operation and integration. However, whether the academician speaks of a culture area, a region, or a section, he implies that human beings of a certain type in a certain environment are likely to react alike. Sometimes they are controlled by the influences from and interests of the larger whole of which their region or section is a part, and sometimes they are almost entirely preoccupied with their local needs and the rationalization of their insular interests. In other words, the same subdivision of a nation may at times display the traits which Odum labels sectional and at other times the traits which he labels regional, and in this sense he is contrasting the attitudes of a constituent group to its larger universe rather than the composition and characteristics of the group itself. Aside from this tendency to perpetuate the confusion between region and section, the book gives a clear picture of the contribution of the various fields of social science to this concept of the differing but interrelated parts of a

nation. The discussion of the types of region—natural, river valley, administrative, etc., is also clear and helpful.

A major thesis of the book, although qualified, is that at least in the United States the region of paramount utility for all purposes, whether research, planning, or administration, is the group of states. A second thesis put forward more by way of illustration is that the sixfold state groupings used by the authors is the optimum. It is here that the reviewer feels that the reservations have not been sufficiently made.

In regionalization for administrative purposes the authors are on firm ground in contending for a system of regions which follow state lines and are composed of such responsible administrative units as states. It is here that the authors in their setup of regions revert to the concept of sections which they previously attempted to discredit for it is in the very phenomena with which the sectionalist is concerned that groups of states are most uniform and the grouping adopted by the authors merely takes the old sections, South, North, and West and subdivides each in two, Northeast, and Middlewest, Southeast and Southwest, West and Far West.

For purposes of research and planning, however, there is need for considerably more homogeneity than can be encompassed in state lines. State averages are entirely deceptive in a heterogeneous state. Let us consider the Negro population of Georgia averaging for the state 37 per cent in 1930. In the Appalachian section it is below 10 per cent. In the Upper Piedmont, around 30 per cent, in the Old Black Belt, about 50 per cent, in the Southwest, around 20 per cent, and along the Atlantic Coast, nearly 60 per cent. A plan for Georgia assuming a flat 37 percentage of Negroes would ignore most significant local differences.

The attainment of this cultural homogeneity is to be sought by the method of using indexes which can be compiled by counties or townships. Such a method yields regions which are not so implemented for the execution of plans as are states but still more nearly approximate the homogeneous culture area which is so fully emphasized elsewhere in the book.

Such groupings are called subregions by the authors. This we disagree with for two reasons—on the grounds of logic it yields a number of subregions which do not add up to the same total as the regions, e.g., the Ozark subregion would overlap Odum's southeast, southwest, and middle states. The Appalachian overlaps his southeast, northeast, and midwest. The other objection as we see it is that such a scheme puts the truly homogeneous grouping of individuals as subordinate to the artificially determined boundaries of political administration. It would seem more preferable that the concept of the group-of-states administrative region be developed co-ordinately and concurrently with that of the research planning region which for the sake of greater uniformity ignores state lines. Such development would involve (1) the establishment of homogeneous groupings within which problems are relatively uniform and for which coherent plans can be made, and (2) the grouping of these research planning units in such a manner that they add up to states with a minimum of splitting of natural con-



glomerates at state lines. The resulting groupings of states would then be considered the region for administrative purposes.

In consideration of the utility of the specific sixfold grouping of states as the optimum, we are faced immediately with one of the fundamental assumptions made by any one subdividing a whole into regional components, viz., how many components or parts should be used and hence roughly how large shall the components be? This assumption may be approached arbitrarily on the basis of administrative convenience by positing (as the authors did) that six would be a convenient number with which to deal. On the other hand, it may be approached by a complicated statistical process by assuming that ten or twelve major indexes will be used for regional delineation and that a certain arbitrary amount of homogeneity with respect to these indexes will be attained. One way the number, and hence, the approximate size of regions is assumed and as high a degree of homogeneity is obtained within this frame work as is possible. The other way the degree of homogeneity is roughly determined in advance and the number of regions kept as small as possible to approach this homogeneity.

It is axiomatic that the smaller (and hence more numerous) the areas under consideration the greater will be the homogeneity of conditions within the areas. Let us suppose for instance that the authors had assumed a group-of-states system of twelve regions instead of six. Without working this out for the whole country it is apparent that the Southeast and Southwest as described in the book would split into four parts (1) the Upper Southeast with little cotton, light Negro population, etc.; (2) the Lower Southeast dominated by the cotton-tenant-Negro culture (of which Florida would be a part by geographic accident rather than homogeneity); (3) the cotton-petroleum Southwest consisting of Oklahoma and Texas; and (4) the farm-mining-ranching Southwest including New Mexico, Arizona, and probably Nevada and Colorado. It is obvious that while the twelvefold regionalization would be more cumbersome in administration than the sixfold, the degree of homogeneity would be far greater. Thus the assumption of the authors that their six regions are the optimum is true only of a sixfold scheme and would not hold good for an eight- or twelvefold arrangement.

While there is a disagreement on these minor points there is agreement that the regional approach will enrich research and implement planning. A technical defect of the book from the viewpoint of the scholar is the failure to give adequate explanation of the methodology used in arriving at the sixfold regionalization.

Rural Surveys Section  
Works Progress Administration

T. J. WOOFER, JR.

*Tom Watson, Agrarian Rebel.* By Comer Vann Woodward. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1938. xiii, 518 pp. \$3.75.

Tom Watson, *Agrarian Rebel*, can be interpreted as one of the most unique characters in American history, or as an index to the period in which he lived. Woodward interprets him in both ways, in an exceptionally well written document which evidences painstaking study of the whole period in which Watson

lived, and by the first scholarly analysis to be made of the Watson papers and the detailed part that Watson played in Georgia and southern politics. As United States Congressman, Vice-Presidential candidate, and finally United States Senator, he played a dominant part in third party politics. As author of twenty books and hundreds of articles ranging in scope from short stories and poems to a two-volume work on the *Story of France*, and editor of nine different papers or magazines, Watson is seen as an intellect anxious to know and interpret the meaning of events which dominated his age and gripped his attention. From his advocacy in early life of equal rights for the Negro, to his championship of "white supremacy" in the South in his later life, from his early general championship of the underdog and insistence upon universal justice to his later crusade against the Negro, the Jew, and the Catholic, one sees a paradox in personality which can be explained only by the buffeting and bitter defeats which this rebel suffered from early boyhood to death. Through his whole life, however, runs the common thread of agrarianism and rebellion, two theses which were the heart of the farmers' movement which gave setting and meaning to the career of Tom Watson.

Watson was twenty years of age when the Granger upheaval was threatening the dominance of the old parties, and he was already fairly deep in local Georgia politics when the Farmers' Alliance swept the South like a prairie fire. His farm background, personal experience, and hatred of southern Bourbonism constituted him a subtle barometer of the agrarian upheaval which swept the nation between 1870 and 1896. He became the outstanding exponent of agrarianism as contrasted with Henry Grady's vision of industrialism for the South, and in doing so became the leader of what might be called the left wing of the southern Populist movement. His call to battle fell upon the ears of men already mobilized by the hundreds of thousands in the Farmers' Alliance, and he contributed more than probably any other southern leader to the very rapid transformation of the Alliance into a political machine which elected legislators, governors, congressmen, and senators, reaching a climax in 1896 in the greatest third party movement that has ever appeared in American history. When the climax was reached, however, and the movement carried into a national campaign on a fusion ticket, Watson found himself in the anomalous position of campaigning for the Democratic party which he had for years been opposing in his own state.

It was because Watson refused to compromise his concept of Populist agrarianism with the Western silver issue and his refusal to sanction fusion with the Democrats nationally and with the Republican party in a number of states in the South that kept him from dominant leadership in the Alliance-Populist movement during the decade which ended with the campaign of 1896. It was this refusal to compromise that made him continue the fight for more than two decades after the Farmers' Alliance and the Populist Party had sunk into national insignificance. He lived and died believing that the fusionist compromises thwarted early in its existence what might have been a movement that would have joined Southern and Western agrarian interests in a permanent political and

economic coalition. His continuous frustration in fight after fight is probably the chief explanation of his later bitterness and seeming demagoguery in opposing anyone who compromised with vital issues. He interpreted Bryan as a shallow politician; made common cause with William Randolph Hearst in 1904 because he believed Hearst was a true exponent of Jeffersonianism; admired Theodore Roosevelt because of his fighting spirit; hated Woodrow Wilson because, he said, he was "an impractical prig," and literally finished his career as a member of the United States Senate still fighting the cause of the common man.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics  
United States Department of Agriculture

CARL C. TAYLOR

*After Freedom.* By Hortense Powdermaker. New York: The Viking Press, 1939. xx, 408 pp. \$3.00.

Dr. Powdermaker has given us a picture drawn from life about which Americans *in spirit* must act positively for the good of civilization. A better title might have been *After Theoretical Freedom*. The book attempts to be accurate, comprehensive, and to interpret within the framework of the data at hand. The last factor is violated more frequently than the other two, however; it portrays "Cottonville" similar to the Lynd's work on "Middletown." "Cottonville" with its 8,000 people is in the flat, now deforested rich delta land of the Mississippi, previously occupied by the Choctaws, whose features are occasionally found in local Negroes. The county is composed of farms and plantations with a few small towns, the largest of which is the county seat. Half of the population of the county seat, but 70 per cent of the county-at-large, is Negro. Holdings range from a "few acres to several thousands." The tenant homes are similar to the poorest quarters of slaves. For both the Negro and white population, "Cottonville" is the center of educational, social, and commercial life. The social, educational, and to some extent, commercial attributes of the two racial groups are carried on separately, even to the extent of a geographic determinant with "the tracks" as the dividing line. "Across the tracks" in white "Cottonville" are the public buildings, the main commercial establishments, the town's best-looking homes and churches—all with their white occupants who completely dominate the Negro life of the community as well as their own. Black "Cottonville" presents a contrasting picture. The nonmaterial cultural patterns of the black and white areas differ, and it is this picture with which the book is most concerned.

The majority of the whites of "Cottonville" are of the "poor white," or middle class type, although they do not like to be so classified. Thus, there may be some logical reason for the conviction that the Negro is inferior and must be regarded in theory and practice about as a fine dog. Negroes who go to college broaden their ideas about Negro accomplishment and the treatment due him, but even then they do not "go all the way." The whites have little difficulty reconciling democracy and Christianity with their convictions about Negroes because logic simply doesn't work at this point. Institutionalized social mechanisms painfully advertise to the Negro that he is considered of inferior status. The Negro

meets these white attitudes with acceptance, indifference, or bitterness depending upon whether or not he is lower, middle, or upper class. (Education, occupation, and code of sexual behavior are the primary factors in determining class.) However, the correlations are not always perfect. The bitter attitude of the upper class Negro is most consistent.

The saddest phase of "Cottonville's" life is its treatment of the plantation Negro. The apparent hopelessness of the situation is seen in the conviction that the most fair whites "accept the dishonest landlord as part of the system." The evils of such a system are legion. Widespread sexual looseness, including known and accepted white man-Negro woman relationships, exists among the lower and middle class Negroes. The Negro woman has the favored place in her Negro society and the white man in his own. Despite these prevailing attitudes there is, nevertheless, the ticklish matter of the white woman-Negro man relationships. Whether the author failed to abstract these or consciously avoided them is not known. If these exist, they should be reported. Negro families are large, having many children one or more of whom may be illegitimate. These families, a large number of which are based upon common-law marriage, are matriarchal; children are regarded as an economic advantage. Religion which is other-worldly is of the wild emotional type and is most concerned with giving peace of mind. Of course, always there is the upper-class Negro who is almost invariably an exception to the rule. Denied the other means of obtaining happiness and security, the "Cottonville" Negro has turned almost blindly to education. But, even in "Cottonville" the delayed-slave culture is crumbling. The most operative force is communication. And it is good that it is crumbling, for without disintegration of the old pattern, the conditions will continue to "breed conflict, deeply felt by every person black or white, in the 'Cottonville' community: conflict of race against race, of class against class, of individual against individual, and of each individual within itself."

Southern University

FELTON G. CLARK

*Economics of Peasant Farming.* By Doreen Warriner. London: Oxford University Press, 1939. 208 pp. \$4.25.

This beautifully illustrated work from the School of Slavonic Studies, London, is, in the opinion of the reviewer, the best single work on continental European agriculture which has appeared in the English language for a generation. It discusses Europe's farm problem from the general social science point of view and is more what we Americans call sociology than economics. Different chapters are devoted to the questions of population, standard of living, agricultural efficiency, the merits and demerits of peasant farming, and the "German" and "Russian" proposals for the solutions of these problems. The regions of middle Europe include some millions of people caught again between the propagandistic pinchers of Communist collectivization and of the German *drang nach Osten* (eastward movement). The Nazi movement is also a highly collective economy in a somewhat different sense.



Obviously as one approaches eastern Europe, conditions become more and more like those found in the interior of the Asiatic land mass. Warriner speaks of people who, at least in many instances, control their numbers by "brutal abortions," who "can't eat their pig," who "have cows not much larger than a wild pig," or who "walk twenty or thirty miles to sell a few pounds of butter or a goat." While these are minority cases, nevertheless, moving from western Europe to the east is like a transition from the best farming community in the United States corn belt to our worst sharecropper community. By instinct and prejudice I feel that the solution offering most to the people must come from the good farming regions. Probably on the same "logical" grounds this work implies a slight edge for the eastern collectivist solution. However, the problem is too complicated to debate in a book review. It is interesting that even in Germany this same solution has been recommended in a recent book on agriculture (*So Steht es in Landwirtschaft*). The important point to remember is that this book should be in every good American library and should be read by every serious student of either agriculture or of Europe's affairs. C. C. Z.

*The Geography of Reading.* By Louis R. Wilson. Chicago: American Library Ass'n and the University of Chicago Press, 1938. xxiv, 481 pp. \$4.00.

The first part of this book asks the question: "How evenly are libraries and library resources distributed throughout the United States?" By means of a series of maps, charts, and tables, the author defines graphically the pattern of library development which is most significant perhaps because of the consistent variation from section to section of the country. A set of five indexes is used as follows: (1) the percentage of population to whom local public library service is available; (2) the total number of volumes in different types of libraries; (3) library expenditures; (4) the number of volumes circulated; (5) the number of registered library users. Four accessory factors are measured also. They are: (1) distribution of gifts for the erection of libraries by Andrew Carnegie and the Carnegie Corporation; (2) the number of librarians actively carrying on library work in the various states; (3) the distribution of accredited library schools engaged in professional training of librarians; (4) the expenditures made by state governments for state libraries, library extension service, and grants-in-aid to libraries.

Notwithstanding that every state possesses, according to the author, some public facilities, there are pronounced differences in the accessibility to these services within states, and there are numerous counties and other political subdivisions where the service is, for all practical purposes, lacking completely. Of six regions of the United States, the three which enjoy advantages above the average (beginning with the highest) are as follows: the North-East, the Mid-West, and the Far-West. Those below average (beginning with the least) are the North-West, South-West, and the South-East. The extent to which the rural population in the several regions suffers the handicap of having no library service is illustrated and the pattern conforms to the general order given above save that the



Far-West has the highest proportion of the rural people so served and the South-West replaces the South-East at the bottom of the list. The author points out further that,

for approximately 40,000,000 residents of rural America, library services through the local, free, tax-supported library does not exist at all. Of the approximately 45 million people in the United States who are without public library service, 88 percent live in the open country or in towns and villages of less than 2,500 population.

The second part deals with the development of other social and educational instruments such as magazines, newspapers, bookstores and clubs, communication through radio, motion pictures and automobiles, the public schools and our expanding system of adult education, particularly along vocational and related lines. The pattern of these conform to those of library facilities and reinforce the impression of the lack of equality. Emphasis is given to the point that this comprehensive system of educational enterprises is handicapped for the want of adequate library aid and that its effectiveness is thereby seriously limited. "The tragedy of the economic order of inequality between production and distribution is repeated in the realm of books. In the midst of potential plenty there is actual want."

The author poses the question: "What difference does it make," this lack of library resources in many areas in the United States? He concedes no better generalized answer than Sir Francis Bacon's: "reading maketh a full man."

To the final question "What can be done to provide adequate library services?" the following recommendations are made: Systematic study toward a better understanding of the problem and a system of measurement of library service reinforced by enabling legislation, especially a system to serve rural areas; assumption by states of responsibility for libraries, supplemented by financial aid from the federal government, appropriately safeguarded.

Rhode Island State College

WILLIAM R. GORDON

*Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation.* By T. J. Woofter, Jr., et al.

Washington: Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, 1936. 288 pp. Free.

The most neglected phase of American agriculture, from a research viewpoint, is the plantation system in the South. While occasional information has been collected on particular phases, for a single study of the whole plantation as an operating farm unit and for individual operations of plantation tenants, especially on a comprehensive southwide scale, Woofter and his co-workers have gone further than anyone else. Their study embraces 646 cotton plantation units from North Carolina on the east to Arkansas and Louisiana on the west. The study presents, as of 1934, the size of holdings, organization and management, land use, capital, and income for the entire plantation, and similar facts for the operating sub-units of tenants and croppers. In addition, new and pertinent information is made available on tenants' standard of living, with particular reference to housing, food and clothing, health, and education.

The controlling characteristics of the plantation system are large land holding, specialization in the production of a staple crop, and high degree of centralization in management and control of labor and product. These characteristics of the antebellum plantation were carried forward after the Civil War merely by a shift from slave labor to the use of wage hands, croppers, and tenants. Representative studies in the three preceding decades<sup>1</sup> have shown the cotton plantation operating mainly with croppers and tenants, with cropper and tenant land devoted mainly to cotton production and the wage-operated portion devoted mainly to feed crops. All elements are closely supervised and co-ordinated for the purposes of the plantation business, from the daily routine of field work to the sale of the product after harvest. The present study, with more elaborate evidence than has been presented heretofore, reveals the persistence to the present day of the major characteristics of the historical plantation in all areas of the old South having good cotton land and an ample supply of "cheap" farm labor. While decadence of the system has occurred in areas hard hit by the boll weevil or soil depletion, in new land areas, such as the Mississippi valley, plantation farming continues with apparent vigor.

A similar study in the next decade, however, is likely to reveal, if present tendencies continue, marked changes in the direction of mechanized production and the common use of wage hands rather than croppers and tenants. If so, the beginning of the long predicted breakdown of the plantation system will be seen, although the large supply of unemployed labor and resulting low wages will retard this movement.

University of Arkansas

C. O. BRANNEN

*Cityward Migration: Swedish Data.* By Jane Moore. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1938. xix, 131 pp. \$2.00.

Moore's monograph reflects the growing interest in the field of internal migration. It deals with in-migrants to Stockholm from one Swedish province, classified by type of community of birth, i.e., whether town, rural, industrial, or agricultural. The sample includes some 14,816 classified cases. The first part of the work is a verification of the hypothesis that the amount and process of migration to a city is related to the degree of industrial development of community of birth (10). With distance and size of population held constant the author found a direct correlation between volume of migration to Stockholm and degree of industrial development. Furthermore, a larger proportion of the migrants born in towns and industrial communities came to Stockholm directly from place of birth, suggesting that greater environmental differences were a barrier to direct migration from agricultural communities.

The second part attempts to establish a relationship between type of community of birth and the position of migrants in Stockholm as regards education,

<sup>1</sup> *The Economics of Land Tenure in Georgia*, by E. M. Banks, in 1905; *The Agrarian Revolution in Georgia, 1865-1912*, by R. Preston Brooks, in 1914; and *Relation of Land Tenure to Plantation Organization*, by C. O. Brannen, in 1924.

occupation, income, and civil status. "A comparison of these distributions of behavior (!) should help to verify the assumption that different types of community produce different sets of behavior pattern which persist no matter what the subsequent type of environment." (10)

It was found that as a class in-migrants born in agricultural communities had less education, a "lower" occupational standing, and a higher proportion married than those born in towns and industrial communities, whose position more closely corresponded with that of native-born Stockholm residents. There were no significant differences in income. From this data Moore concludes that migrants from towns and industrial communities have made a more satisfactory "adjustment" to Stockholm life, because of their earlier environment. Just why being a clerk rather than an industrial worker earning the same wage represents a better "adjustment" is not explained. No consideration is given to the possibility of selectivity in migration.

Although the author has collected some valuable data and displayed some skill in the mechanics of statistical manipulation, her discussion of the broader implications of her findings is not outstanding. One feels that the investigation was worthwhile but that its potentialities were not fully realized in this work.

Harvard University

DUDLEY KIRK

"Farm Tenancy," *Law and Contemporary Problems*. Ed. by David F. Cavers. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University School of Law, October, 1937. IV, 423-575 pp. \$.75 (pamphlet).

As a whole this symposium is a valuable addition to the literature of farm tenancy. Its most important contribution comes from its analysis and appraisal of the legal and administrative aspects of operating and proposed governmental programs. The light which these articles throw upon the first hesitant steps toward tenure reform should prove useful to administrator, research worker, student, and lay reader alike.

Howard A. Turner provides the background for the series by describing the development, extent, and distribution of farm tenancy in the United States. James G. Maddox then gives a critical yet sympathetic analysis of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act. Clarence A. Wiley presents "Settlement and Unsettlement in the Resettlement Administration Program" in which, after a critical appraisal of the various activities of that heterogeneous agency, he concludes: "Of recent date, however, developments point upward . . . . The emergency period of the program apparently has passed . . . . the critical nature of the problem warrants the best job that human ingenuity can give it. It will be better that it be poorly done than not tackled at all." (p. 472.) A careful analysis of the development of the Rural Rehabilitation program is presented by Monroe Oppenheimer, who stresses the legal and administrative aspects of the loan and guidance program to aid destitute and low income families to become self-supporting at a decent standard of living, while another sector of the general attack on the farm tenancy problem—that of governmental farm credit—is the

subject of the article by William G. Murray. After reviewing the results of past governmental credit policies, Murray concludes that past extension of credit by governmental agencies "has not been successful in keeping tenancy down," while the effect of the recent more liberal credit policies depends to a large extent upon the future stability of the agricultural price level. Albert H. Cotton's article on the "Regulation of Farm Landlord-Tenant Relationships" discusses both the existing statute and common law which shape the contemporary institution of farm tenancy as well as the limitations and possibilities of reform. This article should form a landmark in the literature of a complex and difficult problem. A discussion of the legal status of share-tenants and share-croppers in the South is the subject of the article by A. B. Book. The lack of definiteness of the treatment of this subject is the result not of a lack of a penetrating analysis but because the subject matter as presented by statutes and court decisions on this subject is hazy. Russel J. Hinckley and John J. Haggerty severely question the use of adjustments in the property tax as a means to encourage farm home ownership. While many students of the tenancy problem will be inclined to disagree with this point of view, the article does, however, provide a strong presentation of the arguments for the stand taken. In the final article of the series, William T. Ham provides a comprehensive analysis of available factual material on "The Status of Agricultural Labor." The author stresses the lack of any detailed information upon which the formulation of policies and programs can proceed. •

University of Wisconsin

J. A. BAKER AND GEORGE S. WEHRWEIN

*The Mind of Primitive Man.* By Franz Boas. Revised edition. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1938. x, 285 pp. \$2.75.

*The Mind of Primitive Man*, first published in 1911, has been almost an anthropologist's bible on the question of the mental equality of races and the brotherhood of man. The majority of anthropologists and sociologists have probably accepted Boas' views, but the dictators and the man in the street have not. Race prejudice continues as a potent social force in the world today, even where race is a fiction and prejudice merely a device of dictators to maintain group morale. Regretting "the subjection of science to ignorant prejudice in countries controlled by dictators," and warning that "the suppression of intellectual freedom rings the death knell of science," Boas sends forth a revision of *The Mind of Primitive Man*.

Many revisions are mere pretenses, this one is not. Boas has rewritten much of the book, has worked in fresh data, and has improved the arrangement of the materials. The ten chapters of the earlier edition become thirteen in the revised edition. Their titles will indicate to anyone familiar with the older work the general nature of the revision: 1. Introduction. 2. Historical Review. 3. The Composition of Human Races. 4. The Hereditary Characteristics of Human Races. 5. The Instability of Human Types. 6. The Morphological Position of Races. 7. Physiological and Psychological Functions of Races. 8. Race, Lan-

guage and Culture. 9. Early Culture Traits. 10. The Interpretations of Culture. 11. The Mind of Primitive Man and The Progress of Culture. 12. The Emotional Associations of Primitives. 13. The Race Problem in Modern Society.

The accumulation of knowledge since 1911 concerning heredity, race differences, and culture has led Boas to "an ever-increasing certainty of his conclusions." Those conclusions are familiar: "There is no fundamental difference in the ways of thinking of primitive and civilized man. A close connection between race and personality has never been established. The concept of racial type as commonly used even in scientific literature is misleading and requires a logical as well as a biological redefinition."

It has always seemed to the reviewer that questions of heredity versus environment or of primitive versus civilized mentality are questions which in their very nature can never be answered definitively by science. Our answers to them are matters of faith. But insofar as science has any answer or takes a stand on the matter, *The Mind of Primitive Man* will probably rank for many years as the best statement for the essential mental unity and equality of mankind.

University of North Carolina

GUY B. JOHNSON

*Tell My Horse.* By Zora Neale Hurston. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1938. 7-301 pp.

Miss Hurston has seen and heard things well worth the telling and her writing is always vivid, and often dramatic. *Tell My Horse* grew out of an extensive visit to Jamaica and Haiti as a Guggenheim fellow. She reports on mythology, folklore, Haitian history, and present social, economic, and political conditions. But her most important contribution relates to Voodoo in Haiti. She presents an intimate picture of Voodoo from the inside, but if it was the assumption on the part of those who sponsored this study that a Negro investigator might discover more than a white investigator, it was hardly justified by the results. Dr. Herskovits, as evidenced in his *Life in a Haitian Valley*, was able to discover as much or more, to report what he discovered more systematically, and to interpret it more significantly.

Perhaps there is no better laboratory than Haiti, and no better subject than Voodoo, for the study of the interrelationships and contrasts of magic and religion. The Voodoo cult of the West Indies was at one time a religious order. Christianity condemned it as a revelation of the devil and it was run underground. It is now considered by educated and literate classes as diabolical. Miss Hurston says, "As someone in America said of whiskey, Voodoo has more enemies in public and more friends in private than anything else in Haiti."

But one gets the impression from *Tell My Horse* that Voodoo in Haiti, if it has been run underground, is just barely beneath the surface and might easily again become the public and social experience that religion always is. The history, composition, and status of Haiti's population, which is overwhelmingly rural, provides a good setting for the transformation of the individually valuable ways of Voodoo magic into the socially valuable ways of Voodoo religion. It



appears that Christianity in Haiti is just a little more religious than magical, and Voodoo is just a little more magical than religion.

At any rate, Voodoo is intimately connected with the life of the people. Herskovits calls attention to the characteristic instability and restlessness of the Haitian peasant. He has need for a more functional expression of his own experiences than the organized religion of the island now gives him.

Duke University

EDGAR T. THOMPSON

*Modern Society and Mental Disease.* By Carney Landis and James D. Page. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1938. xi, 190 pp. \$1.50.

Very seldom is so much quality scientific matter packed in so few pages as in this much needed work. The authors investigated "the relation existing between mental diseases and such factors as age, urbanization, race, social level," material status, possible inheritance, and possible means of social elimination, such as sterilization. One in every two hundred of the population are hospitalized, with almost as many more unhospitalized, the probability of anyone becoming "insane" during life being about 1 in 20. The six diagnostic groups—dementia praecox, manic-depressive, cerebral arteriosclerosis, senile dementia, general paresis, and alcoholic psychoses, furnish about two thirds of first admissions, 70 per cent of re-admissions, 68 per cent of total admissions, and 73 per cent of the hospital population. Persons under twenty furnish about one fourth of the quota of those of that age in the population of first admissions, while those thirty to seventy yield 60 to 70 per cent more than their age quota. The apex of the curve of occurrence of dementia praecox is about the age twenty-seven; that of manic-depressive, general paresis and alcoholic psychosis, forty-eight; and of involutional melancholia, about fifty-three.

About twice as great a proportion of the urban population are hospitalized as mental patients as of rural, the males in each case rating much higher than the females. But since urban people are more addicted to hospitalization than ruralites, some of the difference is doubtless fictitious. The greater addiction of single, divorced, and widowed persons to "insanity" is assigned to better home care and selection. Heredity enters as a major cause of not more than 40 per cent of insane patients; those addicted to dementia praecox, manic-depressive, mentally deficient with psychosis, and epileptics. The other 60 per cent are constitutionally so, with heredity as a very minor causal factor. The menace of being swamped by insane through fast breeding is small, since their fertility is perhaps not much more than half that of mentally sound persons. Psychic pressure from social crises, such as war and depressions, have little causative influence toward mental illness, since rates before and after such episodes register no higher than during their existence. Negroes manifest much higher rates of mental illness than whites, especially for certain diseases such as paresis. Foreign born rates are little higher than those of natives. Sterilization as a means of social control of mental disease is given a small function. Thus, "if all dementia praecox and manic-depressive patients were sterilized at the time of first admission, the inci-

dence rates for the former would be reduced from 2.2 to 3.3 per cent in the succeeding generation, and for the latter disease, from 1.1 to 2.4 per cent. The remaining 97 or 98 per cent of the cases would not be eliminated." (156.) Our greatest hope of improving the situation is through scientific research, trusting that such finds as the malaria cure for paresis may be made relative to other mental ailments.

University of North Dakota

J. M. GILLETTE

*Our Promised Land.* By Richard Neuberger. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1938. xiv, 398 pp. \$3.00.

This suggestive popularly written book on current social, economic, and political developments in the Pacific Northwest is an addition to our growing list of books dealing with special regions. The author, a social-minded journalist of the Northwest, has traveled widely over the entire region and has closely observed the recent developments that have brought this region to the attention of the nation. The book covers a wide variety of topics, ranging from hydro-electric resources and developments and the fate of the salmon after the big dams are built on the Columbia river to the initiative and referendum, William E. Borah, labor leaders, and intense capitalist-labor conflict. History of the region is treated sufficiently to orient the reader to present trends and events. The main thesis of the book is that here in "our promised land"—the Pacific Northwest—is found the last great opportunity for a westward movement of population.

Of special interest to the rural sociologist is the vivid description—not statistics—of the movement of rural population from the drought-stricken Dust Bowl to this new region. The author shows that it is no easy problem any longer for immigrants to get themselves established on the soil, and he brings out the human side of the life of the poverty-stricken migrant as he struggles to make a living for his family at various types of seasonal labor. The work suggests that the time is ripe for a systematic treatise on Northwest sociology similar to Odum's work elsewhere. Here is an opportunity for a sociological study of the last frontier.

State College of Washington

FRED R. YODER

*Survey of Contemporary Sociology.* By Henry Pratt Fairchild. New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1934. viii, 768 pp. \$2.50.

Those sociologists who have attempted to use daily newspapers as a teaching aid will probably read with understanding the author's introductory statement of the difficulties involved in the selection, classification, and organization of some 1,200 to 1,300 news stories which make up the contents of this book. These items were selected from issues of the *New York Times*, *The Annalist*, and *Current History* for 1933 and the first half of 1934. This mass of material is organized topically into ten chapters and some forty-five subdivisions. One

chapter includes selections from the news dealing with vital statistics and population under the heading, The People. Two chapters include items dealing with various aspects of The Family. Two chapters deal with social improvement, one covering problem material related to Social Reform; the other, concerned principally with the New Deal, and captioned Social Engineering. Succeeding chapters include news stories classified as Social Aspects of Production, The Struggle of Social Philosophies, Social Control, The Objectives of Social Life, and Social Change and Social Theory. Brief introductory paragraphs for the chapters and briefer explanatory statements here and there within the chapters help somewhat with the problem of integration.

In view of the inherent and seemingly inescapable difficulties involved in stringing some 1,300 separate and brief items into a semblance of organization or integration, criticism should perhaps be better directed at the underlying limitations on the use of such materials, rather than at this particular attempt to use them. In view of the difficulties, it may be conceded that the author has done a pretty good job. Fault may be found, however, with his assumption, by which he justifies the limited source of material, that "... in many ways New York City is typical not only of the features of modern urban development, but of the trends of contemporary social development in general."

East Texas State Teachers College

KENNETH EVANS

*Culture Conflict and Crime.* By Thorsten Sellin. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1938. 116 pp. \$1.00.

In this study Professor Sellin undertakes a twofold task: (1) to analyze some of the fundamental concepts of criminological research, and (2) to present a theoretical framework for the scientific study of crime causation. The analysis of basic concepts reveals that much of contemporary research in this field is rendered invalid by its baseless assumptions, its loose terminology, its neglect of meaning in human behavior, and other methodological deficiencies. Essentially, the study recommends that criminologists forsake their adherence to legal concepts and focus their attention upon conduct norms. As an initial step in this direction, the author offers schematic classifications of conduct norms, the conflict of conduct norms, and "resistance potentials," the latter being defined as the "inherent energy or power of the norm."

That this broader basis of inquiry will provide more insight into the phenomena of crime cannot be doubted. The utility of this approach, however, is contingent upon data which are not readily available. Whether criminologists will accept this fact as a challenge or as an insurmountable obstacle remains to be seen. At any rate, this report should be most successful in fulfilling one of the main objectives of the Social Science Research Council, namely, the stimulation of research in human behavior. To implement scholars in this subject, the author has included more than a score of research suggestions, any one of which could be developed into a doctoral dissertation.

Smith College

NEAL B. DE NOOD

*Town Meeting Comes to Town.* By Harry A. & Bonero W. Overstreet. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1938. 268 pp. \$2.50.

This is a fascinating story of how radio can contribute to the perpetuation of democracy in the midst of our complex social life of today. Commercial interests have been quick to detect the value of radio to the commercial world, but educators have been slow to make use of its possibilities in the field of education. "Town Meeting" is one outstanding exception. Those of us who listen to "Town Hall" on Thursday nights cannot but be thrilled by the experience. Thursday stands out as an important day in the week. The Overstreets, in this book, take us behind the scenes and let us see why and how "Town Meeting" came to be.

Sociologists will be especially interested in two phases of this book. First, this is a case study of a changing educational and social situation in our American life and of the social forces that were deliberately brought to bear to cope with the changing situation. It is the story of the struggle with new techniques in order to meet these new situations. Secondly, sociologists will be especially interested in the last two chapters dealing with "The American Scene." Here we are reminded of the blundering faith of Washington and Jefferson amidst a rather simple society, and also the frank realization even at that time that America still had its "character to establish" as a democratic nation. This simple society was then replaced by an unprecedented system of specialization that has so "narrowed our areas of expertness that most of us understand the aims and problems of only one small field of endeavor—or one small field." We are therefore put to the task of devising techniques and developing plans for cutting across these specialized lines at the various levels—community, county, state, national, and even international. The public forum as a method combined with the radio as a technique is here set forth as one successful answer.

University of Wisconsin

A. F. WILEDEN

*Everyman's Drama.* By Jean Carter & Jess Ogden. New York: American Ass'n for Adult Education, 1938. xiii, 136 pp. \$1.00.

We cannot but compare *Everyman's Drama* with Patten's *The Art Workshop in Rural America* (which I reviewed in the December, 1937, issue of this Journal). The latter is written from the point of view of the sociologist, the former from that of the dramatist; the latter gives major attention to the rural field, the former does little more than mention the rural field; the latter considers many phases of the arts, and the former gives attention only to drama. In other words, *Everyman's Drama* is primarily concerned with "the theatre." The treatment, however, is an interesting one even to people outside the theatre. The fact that "upward of a million adults" are participating in the production of plays each year as an "avocational interest," and that there are probably 300,000 dramatic groups in the United States today is significant. It is estimated that millions of people share in these plays each year as audience, because drama must

have audience. "Sociability," "culture," and "education" are pointed out as the fruits of such a program.

This book calls attention to the work of Rockwell in Wisconsin, Arvold in North Dakota, Drummond in New York, and Koch in North Carolina. Illustrations are drawn from several little theatres over the country—particularly Le Petit Théâtre du Vieux Carré at New Orleans, the Pasadena Playhouse, the Dallas Little Theatre, the Michigan Repertory Players, the Civic Theatre of Seattle, Santa Barbara Little Theatre, the Players Club of Detroit, the Douglas Smith Players of Chicago, the Players Club of Columbus, Ohio, and the Washington Civic Theatre; and from several movements in the field such as the Federal Theatre Project, the Black Friars Guild of the Catholic Church, and the Wesley Players of the Board of Education of the Methodist Church. It is admitted that this study is not complete or exhaustive of the field. One cannot but feel that much of the information reported was gathered from selected workers themselves in the field of drama. Some apparently did a much more thorough job of telling what they were doing than did others. The last chapter of this book concerned with "trends" will be of greatest interest to applied sociologists.

University of Wisconsin

A. F. WILEDEN

*Your Community.* By Joanna C. Colcord. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1939. 249 pp. \$.85.

This is an excellent monograph to guide the professional worker in social welfare, education, religion, public health or similar fields in the effort to acquire a good, working knowledge of his community. It can also be used effectively in beginning courses in methods of community surveys. It opens with an excellent chapter on elementary methods of study, on recording and reporting and the uses of study material. There follow chapters on Community Setting, Local Government, Dealing with Crime, Public Safety, Workers, Wage and Conditions of Employment, Housing, Planning and Zoning, Health Care, The Handicapped, Educational Resources, Opportunities for Recreation, Religious Agencies, Public Assistance, Family Welfare, Child Care, Foreign Born and Racial Groups, Clubs and Associations, and Agencies for Community Planning and Coordination. A list of agencies and a bibliography conclude the volume.

Each chapter opens with a simple and practical introduction to the topic. Sections follow introducing each sub topic. Each section ends with a series of questions, answers to which would give the inquirer a working knowledge of the existing situation. Detailed data are skillfully avoided. The emphasis is on essential background and on program. The book is urban in its emphasis but its scope and method will be suggestive and valuable to workers in any area whose responsibilities involve some degree of social engineering. It is bound in a special cloth which will wash without staining if wiped off with a damp cloth.

Teachers College  
Columbia University

EDMUND DES. BRUNNER



*Powder River: Let 'er Buck.* By Struthers Burt. New York and Toronto: Farrar & Rinehart, 1938. xi, 389 pp. \$2.50.

This is one of the series, only partly complete, of "Rivers of America" under the general editorship of Constance Lindsay Skinner. The series attempts to write a "literary" history and description of American regions, as seen from the banks of their rivers. Self-confessedly, the volume is not written as history or sociology, but as literature; hence, historical inaccuracies, of which the reviewer is unqualified to speak, but which the writer freely admits, are excused. This may also excuse the pseudo-psychology of race, white or red, which is a bit disconcerting to a pedestrian sociologist. It may even excuse verbless sentences and parenthetical statements within parenthetical statements. One might, however, wish that the author had learned the difference between semicolons and colons. All this may be art, which covers a multitude of sins forbidden to puritanic scientists.

These criticisms are, however, minor and perhaps carping. The descriptive and "atmospheric" history of the Powder River country and Wyoming in general gives a "feel" of the West and the frontier, not too far past historically, not at all past in their deep-seated influence on American institutions. And lest anyone should forget, the West is a part of the living American scene. It is not simply a direction, since Wyoming, Arizona, Montana, and the Dakotas are far more "Western" than the increasingly urban and urbane Pacific Coast. It is a pattern of life, a philosophy and a social structure, as much as it is a region. It is a virtue of Mr. Burt's work to have recognized this, and to have taken the limitation to the basin of the Powder pretty lightly. Rural sociologists who want an introduction to the Indian-fighting, cattle-rustling, and dude-ranching West will find this book an interesting preface to more prosaic works.

Harvard University

WILBERT E. MOORE

*Social Problems in Agriculture: Record of the Permanent Agricultural Committee of the I. L. O.* International Labour Office, Geneva, Switzerland, 1938. iv, 162 pp. \$1.00.

This publication contains a digest of the deliberations of the Permanent Agricultural Committee of the I. L. O. at its first meeting held in Geneva, February 7-15, 1938. It also reports the final action taken by the committee on the various items on the agenda including (1) hours of work, (2) holidays with pay, (3) protection of child labor in agriculture, and (4) wage fixing machinery. The documentation submitted by the members of the committee on conditions within their respective countries is briefly analyzed. This reviewer made a brief report on this first meeting (See *Rural Sociology*, June, 1938), but the present volume provides a very good digest of the entire session. Another meeting of this committee has been called for April, 1939, at which the question of extending social security benefits to agricultural workers, both wage and unpaid, will receive consideration. This committee is composed of about forty-five members from twenty-three countries of the world.

L. N.

*Congrès international de la population.* Eight volumes. Paris: Hermann and Co., 1938. I, 270 pp.; II, 105 pp.; III, 155 pp.; VI, 128 pp. Price not yet fixed.

The International Population Congress held in Paris in the summer of 1937 attracted outstanding scholars from all parts of the world. The papers delivered were published in a series of eight volumes, each dealing with a particular phase of population problems. The subjects treated by the four volumes up for review, in chronological order, are General Theory of Population, Historical Demography, Statistical Demography, and Demography of the French Outlying Possessions. Among American scholars having papers included in these volumes are Lotka, Thompson, and Notestein. The rural sociologist who is interested in population problems will find these volumes a helpful accessory in his work.

Louisiana State University

HOMER L. HITT

*Research in Agricultural Index Numbers.* By John D. Black and Bruce D. Mudgett. Prepared under the Direction of the Advisory Committee on Social and Economic Research in Agriculture. Social Science Research Council Bulletin 10, 1938. viii, 152 pp. \$.75.

This is the last of a series of twenty-one bulletins, published by the Social Science Research Council, on "Scope and Method" of research in agricultural economics and rural sociology. Most of the material in it relates to the theory of index numbers and to index series now in existence. Only a small amount of space is devoted to a discussion of specific research projects in agricultural index numbers. This is in marked contrast to the procedure used in the other bulletins of this series. Most of the discussion is devoted to index numbers of prices, although some consideration is given to indexes of other factors such as taxes, credit, and foreign trade. The discussion is so arranged that the opinions, often conflicting, of a number of people are presented. The bulletin should be of value both to those who, in their research work, make use of index numbers calculated by others and to those who are engaged in constructing index number series.

Louisiana State University

ROY A. BALLINGER

*Centerville.* By Paul Hanna, G. Anderson, and W. S. Gray. Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1938. 288 pp. \$.92.

Rural sociologists should find it very useful to know of this social studies reader for the lower grades. It is also applied rural sociology in story form about business, roads, communication, food, clothes, agriculture, community organization, and the school as a community institution in a small village and its trade area. The lot of the rural sociologist in the 1950's will be easy indeed if every rural elementary school used this fascinating and simple reader.

Teachers College  
Columbia University

EDMUND DES. BRUNNER

*White Settlers in the Tropics.* By A. Grenfell Price. New York: American Geographical Society, 1939. xiii, 311 pp. \$4.00.

Those rural sociologists who are working in the South will find much of interest in Price's work. The work is heavily weighted with considerations of health, acclimatization, diet, clothing, etc., but here and there are paragraphs dealing with the diffusion and operation of the plantation system, the vital indexes, land tenure, etc. A short chapter is devoted to racial problems, and elsewhere in the work reference is made to the various ethnic and cultural "islands" in the tropics.

T. L. S.

*Maine Ballads.* By Robert P. Tristram Coffin. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1938. xiv, 106 pp. \$1.75.

Simple happenings to "common Monday and Tuesday" men and women form the bedrock of these ballads. Yet the men and women portrayed are not quite the ordinary mill-run farmer and fisher folk of the Maine coast. They are the Maine folk, but many of them have a moral or mental twist that sets them apart. They are the drying seaweed on the beach.

True, they have been torn from the rugged undersea ledges and thrown upon the sand by economic forces that have long been at work inshore from Sequin. Lessened opportunities for earning a living, a declining population, an increasing isolation before the coming of the telephone, automobile, radio, and summer visitors, all have had their part in making the twisted characters that Coffin portrays.

One wonders, however, whether the shaky moral standards implied are not a bit overdone.

University of Maine

GEORGE E. LORD

*The South—Its Economic-Geographic Development.* By Almon E. Parkins. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1938. 528 pp. \$4.00.

This analysis of the economic and cultural conditions and development of the South attempts to answer the question Does the South "possess the requisite natural conditions for an advanced cultural pattern"? The treatment is interesting, and in some aspects very thorough; however, some important items are neglected. No mention is made of the fisheries. The modern rice culture likewise is almost ignored, and recent developments in dairying, cattle raising, and the growing of tung oil trees are overlooked.

When one notices that the author includes in the South Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, the Panhandle of Texas, and Oklahoma, he is forced to question the basis for the delimitation. Why not New Mexico, Arizona, and California as well? Nevertheless, the book is a valuable contribution to regional literature. After reading it, one feels that though the South may be the nation's number one economic problem, it is also the nation's number one land of opportunity.

Louisiana State University

MARION B. SMITH

*The Joint Committee Study of Rural Radio Ownership and Use in the United States.* By a committee sponsored by the Columbia Broadcasting System and the National Broadcasting Company. New York: Sponsors, 1939. Part I, 37 pp. Part II, 85 pp. Free to research workers.

*Columbia R. F. D. Audience.* New York: CBS. 40 pp. Free.

This is a statistical summary of rural radios and their use. It is based on a sample of 20,362,000 families in 955 townships in 96 counties representative of all rural areas in the United States. Of 13,721,000 rural families, 69 per cent have radios, 89 per cent use them every day, and the average time of use is 4.47 hours per day. Radio use is summarized by regions, states, the hour of day, according to farm, rural nonfarm, village, age groups, sex groups, economic status, color, etc. Volume II gives all statistical data. Columbia followed this with a study of what rural people listen to on the radio and what they buy of radio advertised goods by income class and by hours of listening. The longer they listen the more they buy. Correlation, but not causation! While only 26.7 per cent rural families listen to the New York Philharmonic, in general their tastes are not as trashy as one should expect from an urban audience. All this is advertising, but it's good stuff if you are interested in rural psychology or the radio or even if you are just intellectually curious. If you think advertising on the radio is bad, you ought to listen to the pap in the countries where the public puts on the program. If you want to improve the radio, don't buy products where the program is trashy even though your children "like it." Three cheers for more good music.

C. C. Z.

*Federal, State, and Local Administrative Relationships in Agriculture.* By Carleton R. Ball. Two volumes. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1938. x, 1139 pp. \$10.00.

This publication from the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California is of some interest to rural sociologists. This is particularly true of chapter one, which outlines the principles and practices of co-operation and traces the development of co-operative federal-state relations in research.

A detailed treatment of co-operative research in the various specialties makes up the bulk of the two volumes. One chapter of nearly two hundred pages is devoted to agricultural economics, and of this, twenty pages are devoted to rural sociology. No mention is made of the co-operative plan of rural research between the Works Progress Administration and the state agricultural colleges. Most of the attention is devoted to the co-operative studies that Dr. Galpin was able to promote in the early days of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life. Even this account suffers from glaring omissions—such important studies as the three by Lowry Nelson on Utah villages are not included. In general the work gives a distorted view of the development and status of federal, state, and local co-operative relations in rural sociology

T. L. S

